AFRICAN STUDIES

(Formerly Bantu Studies)

VOLUME 4. No. 3; SEPTEMBER 1945

NOTES ON THE HISTORY OF THE KAA

I. SCHAPERA

Among the Native peoples of the Bechuanaland Protectorate, the Kaa have long held a position of special interest. They are now a scattered people, living as subject communities among the Ngwato, Kgatla, and Kwena; but they were one of the earliest Tswana-speaking tribes to settle in Bechuanaland, and their name (which is said to have had a romantic origin) was for many years associated with the Shoshong mountains where the famous Ngwato chief, Kgama III, afterwards had his capital. The circumstances leading to their loss of independence and subsequent disintegration illustrate admirably certain features of tribal politics and laws of succession; and one of their early offshoots, the booSebina, is a particularly good example of that process of acculturation, so common in South Africa, by which peoples of one stock assimilated the language and culture of another. The Kaa can also claim the distinction of having provided David Livingstone with "the first occasion in which I had ventured to address a number of Bechuanas in their own tongue without reading it."[1]

The historical sketch that follows is based mainly upon oral traditions collected from various Native informants, among whom I wish to mention especially Kgang Tshwene (brother of the headman at Shoshong), Raditladi Selalabyannye (headman at Tlhagakgama), Mazebe Sephobe (head of the booSebina at Serowe), and the late Phuthêgêlô Selemogo and Kalayamore Kgakge, veteran authorities on the history and customs of the Kwena. As is perhaps inevitable, the traditions relating to early times are incomplete, confusing, and often conflicting, and I cannot claim that the versions given here should be regarded as authentic history. At best, they reflect little more than what the people themselves would like us to believe. I need only state that, by comparing the traditions of the Kaa with those of the other peoples involved, I have tried to record what seems most likely to have happened. Where contemporary accounts by European writers are available, I have used them to supplement the traditions; and, for the big split of 1892, I was fortunate enough to get access to a Tswana version written at the time by Tshwene Mosenyi, one of the leading protagonists.

[1] D. Chamberlain, *Some Letters from Livingstone*, 1840-1872 (London. 1940), p. 37.

THE BEGINNINGS OF TRIBAL HISTORY

The people now known among the Tswana as BaKaa or BaKaya claim, and are commonly admitted, to be an offshoot of the Rolong. According to some informants, they are derived from the Ratlou section of the Rolong; and, according to others, from the Rapulana. It seems fairly certain, however, that the Kaa had already broken away before the main body of Rolong became subdivided into these and other sections after the death of chief Tau (c. 1760). One tradition actually traces the descent of their chiefs back to Maleke, who is said to have been the son (by a

junior wife) of Nôtô, second chief of the Rolong. But unless we assume that some of Maleke's immediate descendants have been forgotten, it is impossible to stretch the dynasty of the Kaa back to so remote a date as the time when Nôtô is supposed to have lived. Another tradition connects them with Setlhare, tenth chief of the Rolong (and great-great-grandfather of Tau). This seems more reasonable, but unfortunately lacks confirmation.

Nevertheless, it is generally agreed that Maleke was the junior brother of an early Rolong chief. Owing to some disagreement (the story continues), he withdrew with his following from the tribal capital, and established a separate village a little distance away. Henceforth he regarded himself as independent; and whenever his followers brought him tribute (*sehuba*), he kept it for himself, instead of sending it on to his senior brother and chief. The same practice was followed by his son Masege and the latter's son Tseme.

After Tseme had ruled for some time, he and his people decided to make themselves completely independent by moving away to another region. In order to postpone discovery of their departure, they devised the following strategem. They moved away at night with all their belongings and livestock, leaving behind only a calf tied to a tree. The people of the chief's village, hearing the calf bellowing, suspected nothing. The following morning, however, the calf was still heard bellowing, long after the time when the cattle should have gone out to graze. Ultimately some men from the chief's village went to discover the reason. They found Tseme's village completely deserted, except for the calf.[1] They went back and reported to their chief, who merely remarked: *Batho bao ga ke bolo go ba bôna fa ba tla tsamaya ; fa e le bônê, ba ka ya, ba ka ya bao,* "These people, I have long seen that they are about to go; as for them, they can go; people like that can go." Ever since, the fugitives have been known as Ba-Kaa or BaKaya (*ba-ka-ya,* "they can go.")

[1] The story of a seceding group leaving their village at night, with a calf tied to a tree to delay pursuit, is told about themselves by various other Tswana tribes, such as the Mmanaana-Kgatla and the Kgwatlheng. This suggests that the story is more legendary than historical.

At the time of their departure, the Kaa had the same totems as other Rolong, viz. *thôlô* (the kudu) and *tshipi* (iron). Their present totem is *tlou* (the elephant). How the change came about is not generally known. According to one tradition, however, the Rolong chief was not so indifferent to the departure of the people as the name he had given them would seem to imply, and he sent an armed body in pursuit to bring them back by force. His warriors while on the way came across a herd of elephants, and, instead of pushing on after the fugitives, they hunted the elephants. The delay enabled Tseme and his people to get away safely, and in gratitude to the source of their deliverance they henceforth began to venerate the elephant.

The separation of the Kaa from the main body of Rolong is said to have taken place in a valley called Magogwe. (Tseme's eldest son, Magogwe, who at the time of the separation was on the verge of manhood, had been named after this valley.) Tseme and his following settled first at Mafeking, and then moved to Mathebe (near Dinokana, in the Zeerust District of the Transvaal). Some people remained behind at Mafeking, however. Their descendants, now known as bagaMotlhaku, form part of the present Tshidi-Rolong tribe. Their totem, like that of other Rolong, is *tshipi* (iron), which suggests that the change referred to above took place at a later date than the story indicates.

After the death of Tseme, Magogwe left Mathebe and settled at Manyelanong (very close to the modern Ootsi Siding, in the Malete Reserve of the Bechuanaland Protectorate). Thence he moved to Mmopane (a hill in the Kwena Reserve, close to the border of the Gaberones Block). Here a son was born to him, whom he named after the hill. Magogwe died while the Kaa were still living there, and he was succeeded by Mmopane. About this time the Kwena, who had previously been living in the Western Transvaal, crossed the Marico River into Bechuanaland, and went towards Dithebywane (near their present capital of Molepolole). They found the region inhabited by a tribe of Kgalagadi called Kgwatlheng. Kgabo, the Kwena chief, sought help

from Mmopane, and thereby succeeded in driving away the Kgwatlheng and taking over their country (c. 1730).

The Kaa, still under Mmopane, then moved farther north and settled at Tswaing (now known as Lokgalo). Here Mmopane's son Motlhabani begot a son, who was named Motswaing, after the place of his birth. Leaving Tswaing, the Kaa followed the course of the Crocodile River until they reached Theelane. There they encountered two small groups of people, the boo-Malefo and the bagaMpyana, who were on a hunting expedition. In reply to Mmopane's questions, these people said that their home was in the Shoshong mountains to the west, and that the only other inhabitants of that region were the Khurutshe, under chief Moatshe. Mmopane thereupon forced them to submit to his rule and to guide him to Shoshong. (The descendants of the two groups are still found among the Kaa. The boo-Malefo are the ward now known as booraKgele; the bagaMpyana are scattered about in different wards.)

The Ngwato have a different tradition about the settlement of the Kaa at Shoshong. They say that while they were still living together with the Kwena at Bošwelakgosi (near Kopong), the Kaa came as refugees to their chief Mokgadi, who had been a friend of Magogwe. Mokgadi, having decided to separate from the Kwena, went north to look for a territory where to live. He found a village of Phaleng at Mathokolo, in the Shoshong mountains, but elsewhere there were only scattered Kgalagadi and Sarwa. He returned and told his people that he had discovered a country where there were no powerful tribes to oppose them. He then sent the Kaa ahead to settle at Shoshong, telling them not to interfere with the Phaleng. Some time afterwards the main body of Ngwato came to Shoshong, under the chieftainship of Mokgadi's successor Mathiba.

It is clear from both traditions that the Kaa settled at Shoshong before the Ngwato finally separated from the Kwena (c. 1770). How long the Kaa had then been at Shoshong is less easy to determine. But, since both the Phaleng and the Talaote also admit having found them there, it seems safe to assume that their residence dates back to the earlier half of the eighteenth century, and was not as recent as the Ngwato tradition would lead us to believe.

RESIDENCE AT SHOSHONG

On reaching Shoshong, the Kaa (according to their own traditions) duly found the region inhabited by the Khurutshe.[1] This tribe was too strong for them to conquer, as it was experienced in mountain fighting; and for a short time the Kaa actually paid them tribute, thereby acknowledging their supremacy. In due course, the position was changed. One story says simply that the Kaa rose against the Khurutshe and expelled them by force. Another, and more elaborate, version states that for several years in succession the Kaa failed to reap any crops, owing to drought, whereas the Khurutshe, a little distance away, always secured adequate harvests. Ultimately the Kaa sent to the Gananwa to beg for rain. Their messengers were directed to a magician named Menwane, who gave them medicines both for making rain and for causing drought. With the aid of these medicines, the Kaa were able to secure rain for themselves, and to keep it away from the fields of the Khurutshe. A great famine ensued among the latter, who in despair finally abandoned the region; some went to the Botletle River, where their descendants are still found, and others went to the hills at Magalapye, where they mixed with the Kgalagadi. The Kaa then remained undisputed owners of the Shoshong range. Their village at the time was at Phatə-ya-Modimo.

Not long after the departure of the Khurutshe, the Phaleng also came to live at Shoshong. They were people of Kgalagadi stock who had been driven from their former home near Bošwelakgosi by the invasion of the Kwena (c. 1730); they went first into the desert, and then turned back to settle

[1] The Khurutshe were an early offshoot from the Hurutshe. Their traditions state that they lived for some time at Shoshong, but no mention is made of their having moved away because of the Kaa. The main body of the tribe is now at Tônôta, in the Ngwato Reserve; there are other sections in the Tati Native Reserve (Francistown District), and in the Ngwato Reserve at Serowe and along the Botletle River.

at Shoshong, where they became the serfs and cattle-herds of the Kaa. A little later the Talaote, a people of Kalaka (Shona) stock, also immigrated into the region. They lived for a while at Shoshong alongside the Kaa and Phaleng, but afterwards moved to Kalamare, about fifteen miles away.

After the death of Mmopane, his son and successor Motlhabani moved the village to Mma-Mmoloki, still among the Shoshong mountains. There he became the father of a son, who was named Mmoloki, after the place of his birth. It was during Motlhabani's reign that the Ngwato, having separated from the Kwena (c. 1770), migrated into the region of Shoshong. Their chief at the time was Mathiba. They settled first at Marutlwe (Phephenyane), and then at Shoshong itself, where they found the Kaa using the waters of the Mmutlane, Kunwane, and Ranala, streams. The Ngwato say that the Kaa, resenting their intrusion, ultimately became truculent, with the result that Mathiba attacked them and drove them to the country of the Kwena. The Kaa have no such tradition. The Ngwato themselves render its accuracy doubtful by their further statement that when Mathiba's successor, Kgama I, moved to Serokolwane near Serowe (c. 1795), the Kaa and Phaleng remained behind at Shoshong. The fact that various groups of Kaa seem to have been incorporated into the Ngwato tribe at this time suggests that the latter, while at Shoshong, may have dominated over the Kaa, but the nature of the relationship between the two peoples cannot be clearly determined from the available traditions.

Motlhabani was succeeded by his son Mmoloki, who, however, was not the real heir. It appears that the woman who became Motlhabani's great wife had previously been married by a Mmaphela man. (The Mmaphela are said to be a group of Khurutshe origin, who had attached themselves to the Kaa when the main body of their own tribe moved away from Shoshong). By her first husband this woman had a son named Raserekelelo, and by Motlhabani she had two other sons, Motlhobogwe and Mmoloki. Motlhobogwe, as Motlhabani's senior son, should have succeeded to the chieftainship after the death of his father, but he was rejected by the tribe because of his weak character. Whenever the people brought him tribute, he would hand it over to his older half-brother Raserekelelo, thereby recognizing him as senior in rank. The Kaa resented this, because in their eyes Raserekelelo was a commoner, not the son of their chief; and they told Motlhobogwe that he must keep the tribute for himself. He ignored their request, and continued to treat Raserekelelo as his senior. The people thereupon started bringing the tribute to Mmoloki, and told him not to pass it on to Motlhobogwe, because the latter would not listen to them. Mmoloki followed their advice. Motlhobogwe, seeing that he was deprived of his rights, then went to live with Raserekelelo at Mmaphela. Mmoloki was henceforth accepted as chief of the tribe, but Motlhobogwe, because of his seniority by birth, continued to take precedence in ritual life.

During Mmoloki's reign, the Kaa were attacked by the Ngwato, who were then living at Leruti, near Serowe. The story goes that Molosiwa, son of Kgama I, parted from his father and went back to Shoshong. Soon afterwards he and his followers raided the Kaa. Instead of arming themselves with spears, they went with lashes in their hands, pretending to be initiates of the second grade of circumcision (*bogwêra bo setsho*). The Kaa, unfamiliar with this grade of initiation, and not wishing to intrude upon its secret rites, retired before the Ngwato. But when they discovered that Molosiwa and his companions were looting cattle, they armed themselves and rushed to recover their property. In the resulting fight, many Ngwato were killed, including Molosiwa and his younger brother Molosiwana. Those who escaped took the news back to Kgama. The Ngwato thereupon sent a strong army against the Kaa, burned their village at Kunwane, and looted their cattle. The Ngwato say that the Kaa then fled to the country of the Kwena, but subsequently returned and submitted to the rule of Kgama. The Kaa do not admit having moved as a body from Shoshong. But it was probably because of this defeat (c. 1800 ?) that a section of the tribe, under Mmoloki's brother Motswaing, fled to the

north, where (as will be told in due course) they became the people now known as booSebina.

The history of the Kaa for the next twenty years or so seems to have been uneventful. Their traditions say only that Mmoloki was succeeded by Lebelwane, who was succeeded by Mosenyi I, who, in turn, was succeeded by Suwe; each of these chiefs was the son of his predecessor. Dr. Andrew Smith, writing in 1835, calls the chief of the Kaa "Shue" on one page, and "Sibelooni" (i.e. Lebelwane) on another.[1] This suggests that Mosenyi I, if he ruled at all, was chief for a very short time only. According to one tradition, in fact, Mosenyi was never actually chief, but died, while still a young man, during the lifetime of his father. His widow, Mmaetla, was then taken over by a man named Maswabi. This man was the real father of Suwe, but the latter, in accordance with the law of the levirate, was accepted as the son of Mosenyi and duly succeeded to the chieftainship.

Smith mentions also that the Kaa had been attacked successively by the Kololo leaders Rramabusetsa and Sebetwane, who had deprived them of all their cattle.[2] According to various traditions, the Kaa, after Rramabusetsa's raid (c. 1824), went with the Ngwato chief Kgari to the Matopo Hills, where he was killed in an attack on the Shona. The Kaa then returned to Shoshong, accompanied by a small group of Kwena under Sechele who had been living as refugees among the Ngwato. They were almost immediately afterwards attacked by the main body of Kololo under Sebetwane, who was on his way northwards to the Zambesi (c. 1828). The Kwena fled to Lophêpê, but the Kaa remained at Shoshong. Soon afterwards the Kwena themselves attacked the Kaa, but the latter, with the aid of the Tswapong, Talaote, and some Seleka, defeated them and pursued them beyond Lophêpê.

A new and more powerful enemy now appeared. In 1825 the Tebele, under Moselekatse (Mzilikazi), had occupied the Western Transvaal and begun to destroy or subjugate all the peoples living around them. As time went on, their raiding parties proceeded farther and farther afield. The Kaa (although their own traditions are silent on the subject) seem to have been conquered about 1830, and thereafter, like other subject tribes, they were compelled to herd the cattle of the Tebele.

This was the position when, in the latter half of 1832, the Kaa were visited by a European trader named Hume. He may not have been the first White man to establish contact with them, for he told Smith that "Portuguese" from Delagoa Bay sometimes came to trade with them, exchanging beads for ivory.[1] Since the intrusion of the Tebele, the trade had become surreptitious, because Moselekatse, whenever wagons came to the Kaa, "knew and immediately sent to take away the beads." Consequently, "The Portuguese conveyed their goods on pack-oxen and never approached the kraal but remained in the fields and sent to the people to come." Smith was also told that the Kaa smelted iron, from which they had "formerly made axes and travelled around amongst the adjoining tribes to sell them for beads, corn, etc." "Some time ago," he adds, "a commando of 39 Matabeli went against the Bacas, but the latter heard of its approach and fled. It went for the purpose of destroying the chief; it returned without accomplishing anything."[2]

Several months before Smith's expedition reached the Western Transvaal (June 1835), the Kaa were visited by another European trader named Gibson, who died while in the country. There was at the time a serious epidemic of malaria, which had killed "many of the Matabeli, Bamangwato, Bacas, etc."; and Gibson with the rest of his party were reported to have been among the victims. According to Smith's informant,

[1] P. R. Kirby (ed.). *The Diary of Dr. Andrew Smith*, 1834-1836, (2 vols. Cape Town. 1939-40). Vol. ii, pp. 175, 202.

[2] *Op. cit.* Vol. ii, p. 176.

[1] *Op. cit.* Vol. ii, pp. 42 f. It is possible that Smith may have misunderstood Hume, who, according to other contemporary accounts, merely reported having found goods of Portuguese origin among the Ngwato and Kaa. (Cf. *Journal des Missions évangéliques*, Vol ix (1834), p. 223; Vol. x (1835), p. 29.) The Natives themselves have no traditions of direct dealings with white Portuguese traders, but speak of a tribe called MaLokwana who came from the east with trade goods (probably imported through Delagoa Bay).

[2] *Op. cit.* Vol. ii, pp. 201 f.

Gibson "went first to the Bacas, then to the Bamangwato, then to the hills on this side of the Bacalaka, and there was taken sick . . . After the whole of the party died the man named brought his oxen to the Bacas and said he would not keep them, lest he might be blamed concerning his death. The Bacas divided the cattle and have kept them. It was told to them by some of the poor Caffers" (continues Smith) "that we were on our way down the river to seek his property and upon hearing that they immediately fled to the hill."[1]

The circumstances of Gibson's death are of interest in this context only because Livingstone, who first visited the Kaa in 1842, makes a far more serious accusation against them. "The Bakaa", he wrote,[2] "have a bad name among all the other tribes and I believe they fully deserve it, for a few years ago they destroyed by poisoning both water and food the second White man that ever visited them—he was a trader and when he with two of his people fell victims to the treachery of the Bakaa, a fourth still lingered under the effects of the poison but they put a leathern thong round his neck and finished him. They burned the waggons in order to get the iron work of them, and devoured the oxen. As I happened to be the first European who has visited them since this deed of darkness, their conscience loudly accused them, and when I came into their town, except the Chief and two attendants, the whole had fled my presence. These were in the usual place of meeting and in their faces they had evidence of perturbation such as I never saw in black countenances before. Nothing I could do in the way of appearing perfectly at ease, and squatting down beside them, could remove the almost ludicrous expression of fear until they had got a dish of porridge cooked; and when they saw me partake of it without distrust, the act seemed to excite their confidence but lying down to sleep in consequence of the fatigue of the long walk seemed to have the full effect I desired and they soon came round me in considerable numbers. There seemed to be something horrid in the appearance of these people but perhaps the impression on my mind may be accounted for by the fact that I saw as ornaments round their necks pieces of gun-locks etc, and one had a piece of sail cloth round his head which I felt sure must have been taken from the waggon of the unfortunate Gibson. They however during the few days of my stay with them treated me with kindness and I had more than ordinary pleasure in telling these murderers of the precious 'blood which cleanseth from all sin' and I blessed God that he had conferred on one so worthless the distinguished privilege and honour of being the first messenger of mercy that ever trod these regions."

It is only fair to add, for the better reputation of the Kaa, that in his most famous book Livingstone did not repeat the story just given, but says merely: "The Bakaa mountains had been visited before by a trader, who, with all his people, died from fever."[1] Tribal traditions, as is not unusual, make no mention at all of either Gibson or any other early European visitor, including Livingstone himself.

At the time of Livingstone's visit, the Tebele were no longer in the Transvaal. At the end of 1837, having been successively defeated by the Voortrekkers and by a Zulu army, they had withdrawn into North-Eastern Bechuanaland, where they lived for a couple of years before entering what is now Southern Rhodesia. Their migration did not immediately end their domination over the peoples of Bechuanaland. About 1838, while in the region of the Tswapong Hills, Moselekatse heard that the Ngwato had looted some of the cattle which he had given the Kaa to herd for him. (Smith had noted in 1835 that "The Bacas live three days from the Bamangwato, because they are enemies and fight."[2]) The Tebele set out to recover the cattle, and the Ngwato retreated before them from Kutswe to Paje (near Serowe). The Tebele followed and killed some of them, whereupon the Ngwato fled to Mošung, on the

[1] *Op. cit.* Vol. ii, p. 219. Cf. P. R. Kirby (ed.), *Robert Moffat's Visit to Mzilikazi in 1835* (Witwatersrand University Press. 1940). p. 17.

[2] D. Chamberlain (ed.), *Some Letters from Livingstone* (London, 1940). pp. 36 f.

[1] D. Livingstone. *Missionary Travels and Researches in South Africa* (London. 1857). p. 10.

[2] *Smith's Diary.* Vol. ii, p. 217.

edge of the Makgadikgadi depression. It was here that their chief Sekgoma became the father of a son named Kgama, who subsequently was the most famous of all Tswana chiefs.

The Tebele raids continued. In the latter half of 1842 they again sent out expeditions against the Ngwato and neighbouring tribes. Livingstone, who paid a second visit to the region early in 1843, reports that the people "were all in a much more impoverished condition than when I saw them last." The Kaa (at Shoshong) and the Talaote (at Kalamare) had managed to escape without loss of life by taking refuge in the caves of the mountains surrounding them, but all their cattle were looted. The Ngwato were less fortunate, and in addition to losing their cattle had many people killed.[1]

When the Tebele had retired, the Ngwato were invited by the Phaleng and other local tribes to move to Shoshong, which, as events had shown, offered considerable protection against attack. The famous hunter Gordon Cumming found them there in July, 1844, and noted "that they were in daily apprehension of an attack from the Matabili, who they heard were marching against them. In consequence of this, Sicomy and all his tribe had forsaken their kraals, and were now living in wild caves and other secluded retreats in the sides and on the summits of these rocky mountains."[2] Cumming does not mention having encountered the Kaa during his first visit. But in June of the following year, "After trekking about eight miles" from the Ngwato village, "much to the annoyance of the Bamangwatos I discovered the residence of the Bahwas, where I halted for the night, having sent a message to Schooey, the old chief, that I would trade with him next day. The next day the old chief, with his wives and nobility, appeared at an early hour, and by midday I had purchased several tusks of elephants; also two very fine karosses of leopard-skin, etc."[3] This does not add much to our knowledge of the Kaa, except that Suwe was then an old man, and that the Ngwato apparently wished to be regarded as sole rulers of the country.

[1] Chamberlain. *Some Letters from Livingstone.* p. 48.
[2] R. Gordon Cumming. *Five Years of a Hunter's Life in the Far Interior of South Africa* (2 vols. London. 1850). Vol. i, p. 320.
[3] *Ibid.* Vol. ii, p. 94.

REMOVAL TO THE KWENA

The Ngwato, soon after they had settled at Shoshong, attacked the Kaa and expelled them from the country. There are several traditions about the origin of this action. The Talaote say that the Kaa accused them of having invited the Ngwato to Shoshong "in order to stir up trouble." A fight ensued, in which the Ngwato and Talaote combined and drove the Kaa into the country of the Kwena. The Ngwato say merely that the Kaa refused to submit to their rule. Sekgoma thereupon raided the Kaa, seizing all their cattle and some of the people. The other Kaa took refuge in the caves, and sent to the Kwena chief Sechele, asking him to intercede for them. As a result of his representations, Sekgoma agreed to let the Kaa leave the country, but he kept back all their cattle. The Kaa then moved in a body to join the Kwena at Kolobeng.

The Kaa themselves say that their removal from Shoshong was due directly to the treachery of Suwe's heir, Mosenyi. One account states that Mosenyi was jealous of the favour shown by Suwe to Ramokwena and Mmelane, who were the sons of a junior wife. Mosenyi brooded over his grievance, and when his younger brothers were to be initiated he took advantage of the opportunity and invited the Ngwato to send an army to destroy the initiation school. Another account states that Mosenyi was impatient to succeed his father, and plotted with an uncle named Ditsele to have Suwe removed. Immediately after the initiation of the Matlhomathêbê regiment, Suwe sent all the initiates to herd the cattle at his own posts. Mosenyi, who had previously come to an agreement with the Ngwato, thereupon sent Ditsele to summon their army. Ditsele guided the Ngwato towards the cattleposts. When they were well on their way, he rushed back to the Kaa village, and raised a false alarm, saying that a lion was destroying the cattle at Khuduabeng, in the opposite direction. Suwe and all the available men went after the alleged lion, thus giving the Ngwato a free hand at the cattleposts. On return-

ing from his wild goose chase, Suwe found that the whole of the newly-formed regiment had been massacred and all his cattle taken away. The Kaa wished to send out an avenging expedition, but Suwe refused. He said that the disaster had been caused by Mosenyi's lust for chieftainship, and that because of this Mosenyi should never be an independent chief, but would always be ruled by others. To give effect to this curse, he proposed to place himself and the Kaa under the authority of some other chief. The people agreed, and, after setting fire to their village, they moved away from Shoshong.

Suwe, who was intending to join the Kgatla chief Pilane in the Transvaal, got as far as Tlabyana, on the Crocodile River. There he was found by Kgosidintsi, Sechele's younger brother, who had been sent to invite him to join the Kwena instead. The Kaa accordingly altered their plans, and went to live with the Kwena at Kolobeng. This was in 1848. Livingstone, who was then staying with the Kwena as their missionary, claimed that the Kaa had been attracted there " by the report that Sechele has secured the good word " (i.e. had a resident missionary);[1] but this particular version finds no support in any Native tradition.

To Livingstone, however, we owe a valuable census of the Kaa, taken within a year of their arrival at Kolobeng.[2] The tribe as a whole then contained 1,236 people (as against 2,384 Kwena), and was made up as follows :

Men*	361	Women*	423
Boys	197	Girls	255

(* Livingstone defined " men " and " women " as people " over fourteen years old ".)

The marital state of the " men " was as follows :

No. of wives	*No. of men*
0	83
1	157
2	94
3	25
4	2

The history of the Kaa for the next forty years and more is intimately connected with that of the Kwena, to whose rule they were subject all this time, and nothing special is recorded in their traditions. They moved with the Kwena from Kolobeng to Dimawe (1851), and fought beside them when that village was attacked by the Boers in August 1852. Immediately afterwards they accompanied the Kwena to Dithebywane, and thence (in 1863) to Molepolole. Suwe died while they were at Dithebywane, and he was duly succeeded by Mosenyi. The latter, who never ruled as an independent chief, died in 1892; and within a few months of his death the Kaa, hitherto a united body, had become separated into factions that have never since come together.

DISINTEGRATION OF THE TRIBE

The break-up of the Kaa was due primarily to a dispute about the succession to Mosenyi. His first wife, Mmandia, had borne him five children (including a son named Suwe), but all except two daughters died in infancy. His second wife, Tsetsa, bore him a son named Segotso. He then married Gabefe, to whom he had been betrothed before his marriage to Tsetsa. Gabefe was not given her own " house ", but was placed in that of Mmandia. She bore a son named Tshwene, who, according to tribal law, ranked as the son of the " great house ", and was therefore senior to Segotso.

After Gabefe had been put into her " house ", Mmandia was neglected by Mosenyi. She therefore left him, and went to stay with some relatives at Shoshong. There she was " married " by Rrantsolobela, chief of the Phaleng, to whom she bore a son. Mosenyi, on hearing of this, sent a message to the Phaleng claiming the child as his own, and giving him the name of Suwe : he maintained that, since he had not taken back the *bogadi* cattle given for Mmandia, she was legally still his wife, and any children she bore (no matter by whom) therefore belonged to him, they were " the children of his cattle ". According to Tswana law, this was a perfectly valid claim. One account says that the Phaleng themselves admitted its justice, but that the child died in infancy. Another version is that the Phaleng secretly killed

[1] Chamberlain. *Some Letters from Livingstone*. p. 129.
[2] The figures given are quoted by J. J. Freeman, *A Tour in South Africa* (London. 1851), p. 280. Freeman visited Kolobeng at the end of 1849.

the boy, in order to avoid giving him up to Mosenyi.

Mmandia, after this, was fetched back to Molepolole by her mother's people, and she stayed in their home, instead of returning to Mosenyi. She was then taken to wife by a Kwena man named Molefi, of Mmupi ward. Before consummating their union, the two were duly "doctored" to avoid any evil consequences. A son was born, who was given the doctor's name of Selalabyannye. Molefi, after the birth of Selalabyannye, wished to give *bogadi* for Mmandia and so establish a claim to the child. Mosenyi intervened, however, and claimed Selalabyannye for himself, as "the child of his cattle", just as he had done with the son borne by Mmandia to Rrantsolobela. The matter was referred to Sechele, chief of the Kwena, who decided that the child belonged to Mosenyi. Selalabyannye was therefore taken to Mosenyi's home and brought up there.[1]

Several years later, Mosenyi died (September, 1892). According to Tswana law, Selalabyannye, as only son of the "great" wife, should have succeeded him as chief of the Kaa. But Segotso now claimed the chieftainship for himself, stating that he was Mosenyi's true and first-born son, whereas Selalabyannye was merely "a child of cattle." Sebele, who had just become chief of the Kwena, supported Segotso, and agreed to recognize him as head of the Kaa. It is said by some that Sebele's action was due mainly to the fact that Selalabyannye's real father was an ordinary Kwena tribesman, who was still living. Others, however, add that Segotso had promised Sebele a substantial gift of cattle in return for his support. A great dispute ensued. Some of the Kaa favoured Selalabyannye, others Segotso, and still others said that Tshwene should become their chief. Tshwene himself supported Selalabyannye, who at the time was still a mere youth.

While the dispute was in progress, Tshwene, having reason to believe that Sebele intended to seize his cattle and give them to Segotso, sent them secretly towards Mochudi, in the territory of the Kgatla. Hearing of this, Sebele went out to stop the cattle, but he turned back on finding that they had already reached Mochudi. He then ordered Tshwene to have the cattle brought back. Tshwene refused to comply. Sebele thereupon authorized Segotso to send and seize the cattle, at the same time informing Tshwene that there would be war if he in any way interfered with the messengers. The cattle (about 450 head) were brought back by Segotso's messengers. Sebele kept some for himself, and handed the rest to Segotso. The latter shared them with his own followers, who began selling and slaughtering the animals.

Because of Sebele's actions in regard to both the chieftainship and the cattle, Tshwene now decided to move away from the country of the Kwena. Sebele raised no objection. Tshwene, taking Selalabyannye with him, thereupon left Molepolole (November, 1892), and settled at Tlhagakgama, in the country of the Kgatla. They were accompanied by a majority of the Kaa, but many people remained behind with Segotso. Tshwene then appealed to the Government for the restoration of his cattle. An inquiry was ultimately held (July, 1893), and Sebele was ordered to hand back all the cattle. He produced only some, but on being threatened with strong measures if he failed to give up the rest by a specified date, he reluctantly submitted. Since many of the animals had already been sold or slaughtered, Sebele in order to replace them imposed a levy in kind on both his own people and Segotso's followers. This aroused great resentment against him.

Three years after the emigrant Kaa had settled at Tlhagakgama, there was a fresh dispute, this time between Tshwene and Selalabyannye. Tshwene wanted all the Kaa to move into the territory of the Ngwato. Selalabyannye was advised by several partisans not to agree; they maintained that, once the people were on Ngwato soil, Tshwene (who had married Kgama's daughter Pidio) would take steps to secure the chieftainship for himself. The upshot was that Tshwene moved away with many families and settled in the old tribal home at Shoshong, while Selalabyannye

[1] The legal points involved are discussed in my *Handbook of Tswana Law and Custom* (Oxford. 1938). pp. 139, 157, 161 f., 170 f.

remained behind at Tlhagakgama, but also with a fairly large following. There were the usual disputes about the ownership of cattle, and the two factions once even came to blows, but the Government officials at Gaberones ultimately managed to adjust the conflicting claims.

Some time after Tshwene's departure, there was yet another split among the people at Tlhagakgama. They had been accompanied from Molepolole by a group of BaTaung-baMoletsane, descendants of people who had joined the Kaa during the reign of Lebelwane. These Taung were regarded as servants by the Kaa, who often ill-treated them. Taking advantage of the upheaval in tribal affairs, they now appealed to the Kgatla chief Lentswe for protection, and he allowed them to establish their own village some distance away at Ramathobolo, more commonly known to-day (after the local headman) as Rasesa. They have ever since been completely independent of the Kaa.

The section of Kaa which had remained behind at Molepolole under Segotso did not stay there long. In 1894 there was a dispute among the Kwena themselves, which resulted in a large part of the tribe breaking away from Sebele and moving to Kolobeng under the leadership of his brother Kgari. Among those who left were Segotso and most of the Kaa, who still resented the losses they had suffered in the cattle settlement of 1893. Segotso remained with the seceding Kwena until they migrated north in 1896-7. He then applied to Kgama for permission to settle in the Ngwato Reserve, and ultimately was placed at Kalamare, not far from Shoshong.

To-day there are in the Protectorate three main sections of Kaa. The first, at Tlhagakgama, is under the leadership of Selalabyannye's son Raditladi, and consisted of approximately 800 people at the time of the 1936 census. The second, at Shoshong, is under Tshwene's son Mosenyi; its population, in 1936, was 1,650. The third, at Kalamare, is under Segotso's son, also named Mosenyi; it consisted in 1936 of 950 people. There is a fourth section, numbering about 200 people in 1936, which remained behind at Molepolole when Segotso went away with Kgari. Its present headman is Kwalagobe Magawe.

SOME EARLY OFFSHOOTS

Apart from the four sections just mentioned, there are various other groups of Kaa scattered about the Protectorate. Almost all of them are early offshoots from the tribe.

Among the Tshidi-Rolong, at Mafeking, there are two wards, both known as bagaMotlhaku; the one is under headman Jasop Sebogiso, and the other under headman Orogo Karabo. Although both have the totem *tshipi* (iron) instead of *tlou* (elephant), they are acknowledged as Kaa, and are said to be descendants of the people who remained behind when the main body separated from the parent tribe of Rolong.[1]

Ntloedibe, one of the main wards of Kwena at Molepolole, has a sub-ward called BoKaa, under headman Ramokolema Pheto. These people were part of the Kaa who joined the Kwena in 1848. They afterwards separated from the others, owing to some local dispute, and were placed by chief Sechele under the headman of Ntloedibe.

Among the Ngwato, the following wards in Serowe are regarded as Kaa by origin:

	Name of ward	*Name of headman*	*Taxpayers (1943)*
1.	Sebina	Mazebe Sephobe	276
2.	Mathuba	Mathuba Boipego	28
3.	Seletamotse	Seakgano Ntšhaga	26
4.	Modiêga	Lesole Makale	14

The Sebina people (No. 1) say that they separated from the Rolong after the main body of Kaa had departed. They followed the latter, and found them at Shoshong, but, wishing to be independent, they proceeded farther north. Another, and probably more reliable, tradition says that the boo-Sebina broke away from the other Kaa at Shoshong after the battle of Kunwane, in which Kgama I defeated the tribe. It is generally agreed that their first leader was Motswaing, son of Motlhabani, who moved to the north with a small following. After his death, his son Motshiping or Mpesa proceeded still farther north and settled at Domboshaba (in what is now the Tati Native Re-

[1] See above, p. 110.

serve, Francistown District). That part of the country then belonged to the Nyai, a Kalaka (Shona) tribe, whose chief bore the dynastic name of Mengwe. Mpesa attached himself to Mengwe, and became such a devoted follower that he was nicknamed *Chizwina* (*Chizwinilashe*, " the dancer to the chief ") " because he was like a dog wagging its tail with joy in the presence of its master ". The nickname stuck, and Mpesa's people became known, after him, as booSebina (the Tswana form of the word Chizwina).

During the course of the next forty or fifty years, these Kaa lived together with the Nyai, and completely assimilated their language and much of their culture. Sebina, however, is said to have introduced circumcision among the Kalaka, and as a result became a man of some prominence. The Tebele of Moselekatse then invaded the country (c. 1840). Their ill-treatment of the local inhabitants ultimately caused many of the latter to flee for refuge to the Ngwato (c. 1850-60). Among the refugees were some of the booSebina, who have lived ever since in the Ngwato capital. Their descendants are the people now found at Serowe. Although they have been with the Ngwato for more than eighty years, and are perfectly familiar with the Tswana language, they still prefer to speak Kalaka in their homes, and most of them marry either into their own or other Kalaka wards.

The booSebina who remained behind when the others fled were still in the Tati District when the power of the Tebele was broken by the British in 1892-3. Thereafter they lived for a while under the rule of the Khurutshe, who had returned to the district in 1896 from the Ngwato Reserve. In 1913, however, when the creation of the Tati Native Reserve led to a shortage of land, the great majority moved over the border into the Ngwato Reserve. They are now settled along the Shashi River, and in 1943 numbered 435 taxpayers. Their headman, Majaga Sebina, is senior to Mazebe in Serowe. The few people who remained behind in the Tati Native Reserve are still subject to the Khurutshe, among whom they form a separate ward under Sechele Ganjana.

Of the other Kaa wards in Serowe, booraMathuba (No. 2) are descended from a man named Mmuagobe. He was a brave warrior, and in reward for his services was made a confidential servant (*motlhanka*) by one of the early Ngwato chiefs, probably Mathiba. His descendants have ever since formed part of the Ngwato tribe. Their totem is not *tlou* (elephant), like that of other Kaa, but *kgope* or *mmutla* (the hare). It is said that the wife of Mmuagobe's son Direetswe was barren. She was treated for fertility by a woman doctor, whose totem was the hare ; and when a son was born, the doctor said that he should venerate the same animal as herself. This son, Tsimane, was the grandfather of Mathuba, after whom the group is now known.

I have no information about the history of either Seletamotse (No. 3) or Modiêga (No. 4). The latter, however, rank as *malata* (household servants), which suggests that they were at one time the serfs of the Ngwato chiefs, and therefore probably captives taken in war.

In Serowe there are also several sub-wards reputed to be of Kaa origin. They include the following :

Name of ward	*Name of sub-ward*	*Headman of sub-ward*
1. Malela	Kubane	Ramatswai Seiladijo
2. Matshego	Seduka	Galekhute Montsho
3. Makolori	Mahudi	Tšhabaesele Kwakale
4. Makolobywane	Setšhele	Rasekopo Setšhele
5. Bôkôtêlô	Mahakane	Baruti Ikaneng
6. MoKwena	Ntloedibe	Ntama Keetile
7. Moseki	Ditšhabeng	Ramonna Tautsagae
8. do.	BoKaa	Tshelang Molefê
9. Mothowa	Makanana	Ramogwêra Taukobong

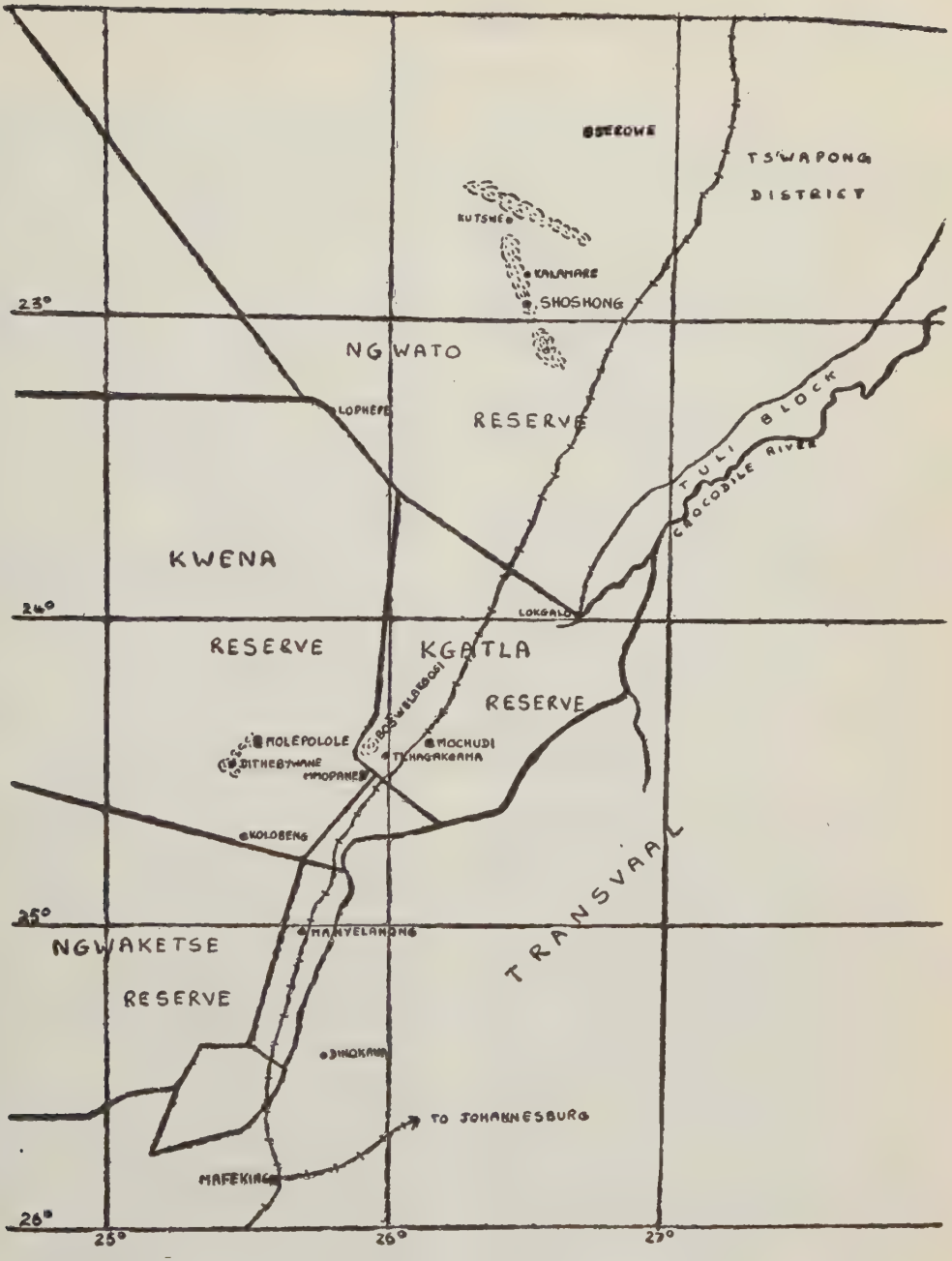
Name of ward	*Name of sub-ward*	*Headman of sub-ward*
10. Ditlharapa	BoKone	Badumetse Mokone
11. Tshweu	Motsoko	Tebo Radifola
12. Talaote	RaMoshabi	Kebalefetse Moshabi

Motsoko (No. 11) are descended from a man named Malotwe, who was made a *motlhanka* (confidential servant) by Kgama I and placed in Tshweu ward to "watch over" (*disa*) its headman, a member of the royal family. No. 6 (Ntloedibe) is an offshoot from BoKaa sub-ward in Ntloedibe ward at Molepolole, and came to the Ngwato Reserve when the sons of Kgari moved away from the Kwena in 1896-7. I have no information about the manner in which the other sub-wards listed above came to be incorporated into the Ngwato tribe.

The following wards, living in the Tswapong district of the Ngwato Reserve, are also described as Kaa, but I know nothing about their history:

Locality	*Ward*	*Headman*	*Taxpayers*
1. Letšheng	Maokwe	Dimpe Mathuba	136
2. Ratholo	Ratholo	Direkileng Setlhabi	46
3. Tupywa	Tupywa	Seane Kgosiyang	35

Among the Tawana, finally, the Kaa are represented by two allied groups: BoKone ward, under headman Gaokgore Ramokwena (10 taxpayers), and Tsio (a subdivision of Mepako ward) under Kgotlaesele Selelo. They are said to have accompanied the Tawana when the latter seceded from the Ngwato at the end of the eighteenth century. This suggests that they must have been incorporated into the Ngwato tribe during its first residence at Shoshong (c. 1770-95).


BOEROWE
TSWAPONG
DISTRICT
RUTSWE
KALAMARE
SHOSHONG
23°
NGWATO
LOPHEPE
RESERVE
TULI BLOCK
CROCODILE RIVER
KWENA
24°
LOKGALO
RESERVE
KGATLA
RESERVE
MOLEPOLOLE
SITHEBYANE
MMOPANE
MOCHUDI
TKHAGAKGAMA
KOLOBENG
TRANSVAAL
25°
NGWAKETSE
RESERVE
MAHYELAHONG
MOKAMA
TO JOHANNESBURG
MAFEKING
26°
25°
26°
27°

DIE TERRITORIALE ORGANISASIE VAN DIE VENḒA *

H. DU PLESSIS

Die Venḓa-stamlede woon in krale en statte wat oral verspreï is oor die stamgebied ; waar die reënval hoog is en die grond vrugbaar is soos in die grootste gedeelte van Tshivhase en Mphaphuli se lokasies is die digtheid van bevolking tot 200 en meer per vk. myl. Die streek ten noorde van die Zoutspansberge daarenteen is 'n baie droë gebied en hier woon die Venḓa slegs hier en daar langs riviere en by fonteine.

Vroeër, toe daar nog gevare vir oorloë was het die onderdane nie in oral verspreide statte gewoon nie, maar die meeste het in die statte gewoon van die kaptein of die hoofmanne.

Die gebied van 'n stam is verdeel in verskillende distrikte : (*Mivhundu*) ; die hoof van elke distrik is 'n indoena, genoem deur sy onderdane *vhamusanda* en deur sy kaptein *mukoma* ; die distrikte is weer onderverdeel in onderdistrikte (*tshisi* plur. *zwisi*) ; aan die hoof van so 'n *tshisi* staan weer 'n *mukoma* van die indoena, ook deur die onderdane so genoem. In die *tshisi* woon die onderdane verspreid in krale of statte (*muḓi-miḓi*) en die hoof van so 'n *muḓi* word genoem die *mukoma* van die *muḓi* (*mukoma wa muḓi*).

'n *Muvhundu* en 'n *tshisi* word genoem na 'n berg of koppie waar die indoena of die *mukoma* bly of na die *mukoma* of indoena of na 'n vroeëre belangrike indoena of *mukoma* of indoena of na een of ander geografiese eienaardigheid van die plek ; 'n *muḓi* word genoem na die *mukoma* of na 'n vroeëre belangrike *mukoma* daarvan of ook wel na die geografiese eienaardigheid van die plek. Die grense tussen die verskillende *mivhundu* en *zwisi* word gevorm deur riviere, vleie, spruite, kleinere lopies, berge of rante.

Die aantal onderdane in 'n distrik en die grootte daarvan varieer baie. In die distrik waarin die kaptein bly, woon gewoonlik baie meer stamlede as in ander distrikte. Hierdie onderdane wat in die distrik van die kaptein bly, word genoem *vhathondo*,[1] d.i. mense van die *thondo*, omdat die inwoners vroeër die *thondo* ('n stamskool) by die kaptein se stat moes bygewoon het. Sommige grotere indoenas het 2000 en meer onderdane, maar die gemiddelde aantal vir 'n indoena sal nie meer as 400 na 500 wees nie. Waar die reënval min of die grond skraal is, is 'n distrik tot tien en meer vierkante myle groot ; maar waar die reënval hoog is en die grond vrugbaar is, is die gemiddelde grootte van 'n distrik nie meer as twee vierkante myle nie. In so 'n distrik, wat ongeveer 2 vierkante myle groot is en waar ongeveer 400 mense bly, sal vir ongeveer elke 70 mense een *mukoma* aangestel word, sodat ons vir so 'n distrik ses *zwisi* kry met ses *vhakoma*.

In die distrik bly in die eerste plek die familielede van die indoena ; verder nakomelinge van 'n groep of groepe wat vroeër onderwerp is, nakomelinge van aanhangers van die indoena wat saam met hom die distrik geokkupeer het en vreemdelinge wat in die distrik ingetrek het ; persone nie-verwant aan die indoena is gewoonlik heelwat meer as verwante persone.

In 'n *tshisi* bly die *mukoma*, sommige van sy familielede, nakomelinge van persone wat van die vroegste tye hier gebly het en ander persone wat gedurig in- en uittrek ; ook hier is die familielede van die *mukoma* gewoonlik heelwat minder as nieverwante persone.

Die *muḓi* is vir praktiese doeleindes die kleinste politieke en administratiewe eenheid, dan volg die *tshisi* en dan die *muvhundu*. In baie opsigte het die hoof van 'n *muḓi* die hoof van 'n *tshisi* en die hoofman van 'n *muvhundu* korresponderende funksies ; die hoofverskil lê in die grootte en samestelling van die groep, waaroor elkeen jurisdiksie het en in die ooreenstemmende magsoutoriteit wat elkeen besit. Die hoof van die *muḓi* is verantwoordelik vir die goeie gedrag van die inwoners teenoor die *mukoma* van die *tshisi* ; die

Geneem uit proefskrif vir M. A. Die Politieke Organisasie van die Venda. 1941.

[1] Die *Vhathondo* het in die leër die kaptein se mees vertroude regiment gevorm.

mukoma van die *tshisi* weer vir sy mense se gedrag teenoor die indoena, en die indoena vir sy onderdane se dade teenoor die kaptein.

Die stat (*musanda*) van die kaptein is gewoonlik die grootste in die hele stamgebied en is geleë op die mees strategiese en vrugbare plek in die gebied. Dit is die politieke, sosiale, godsdienstige en vroeër ook militêre sentrum van die hele gebied. Die stat van die indoena (ook genoem *musanda*) is vir sy distrik in hierdie opsigte hieraan gelyk. Die stat van die *mukoma* is weer die politieke en sosiale sentrum van sy *tshishi*.

Omdat die mense vroeër gekonsentreer was in die statte van die kaptein en indoenas, was die aantal statbewoners ook baie groter as wat dit vandag is; in 'n kaptein se stat woon vandag nie meer as 200 tot 300 mense nie. Stayt[1] wat Mphefu se stat in 1930 besoek het, het hier 33 mans gevind, 73 vrouens en 113 kinders. Die mans het ingesluit die kaptein, sy amptenare, sommige van sy onderdane wat graag hier wil bly en twee kranksinnige persone; tien van die vrouens was van die kaptein, 52 was van sy raadsmaane en onderdane en 9 was koninklike en 2 ander weduwees; 24 kinders het aan die kaptein behoort, terwyl 85 van die ander inwoners was. In Sinthumule se hoofstat was daar volgens Stayt destyds 33 manne, 62 vrouens en 102 kinders. In 1939, toe ek die stat van Mphefu besoek het, was daar ongeveer net soveel inwoners soos hierbo aangegee word.

Sommige indoenas se statte is maar klein; gemiddeld geneem bly daar nie meer as 50 persone in so 'n stat nie. Onder hierdie is gewoonlik begrepe die indoena, sy vrouens en kinders, sy *mukoma*[2] met sy vrouens en kinders, sy *khotsi munene* en (of) broer met vrouens en kinders en enkele van sy pa se weduwees en hul ongetroude kinders.

[1] Stayt H. A., The *Bavenda*. Oxford University Press 1931, p. 29.

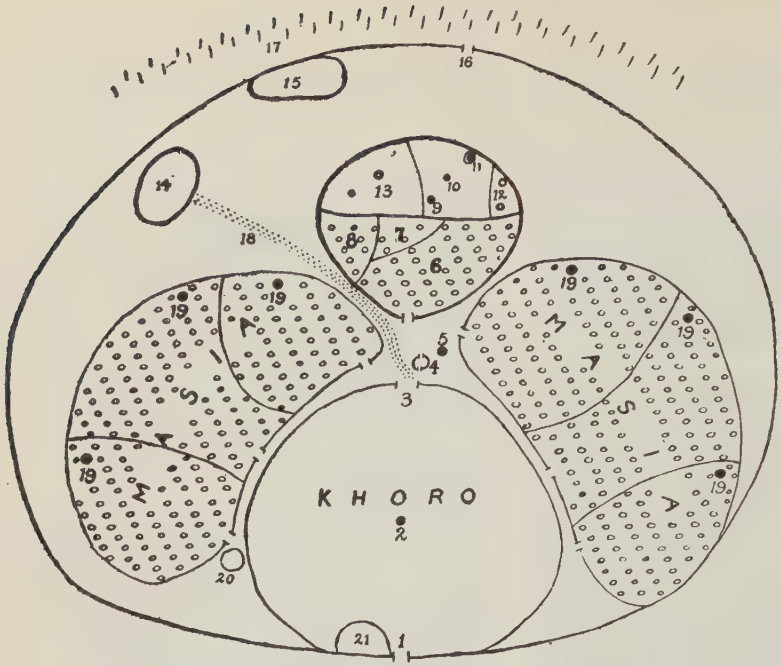
[2] In elke stat van 'n kaptein of 'n hoofman is daar 'n spesiale hoofman genoem *mukoma*. Persone wat die kaptein of hoofman wil sien moet hulle eers tot hierdie *mukoma* wend en alle bevele en opdragte van die kaptein word deur hom oorgebring. Hy hou ook toesig oor alle werk in die stat en het nog baie ander funksies. Hy is mond en oog en ore van die kaptein of hoofman, sy regterhand vir alle sake.

'n Stat van enige omvang is verdeel in *masia* of *dzikhoro* wat bestaan uit 'n groep huisgesinne wat vir die merendeel, hoewel nie altyd, verwant is aan mekaar. In Mbulaheni Mphefu se stat is daar ses sulke *masia* en in Mphaphuli se stat is daar sewe. Elke *sia* het 'n besondere naam en word genoem na die hoof van die *sia* of na die een of ander geografiese eienaardigheid van die plek. As 'n onderdaan die kaptein wil spreek, moet hy hom eers aandien by die *sia* wat vir hierdie doel vir sy wyk toe gewys is; hier moet hy ook vertoef solang hy in die hoofstat is. Die hoof van 'n familie is verantwoordelik vir sy mense se gedrag teenoor die hoof van die *sia*, en die hoof van die *sia* is weer in hierdie opsig verantwoordelik teenoor die hoof van die stat.

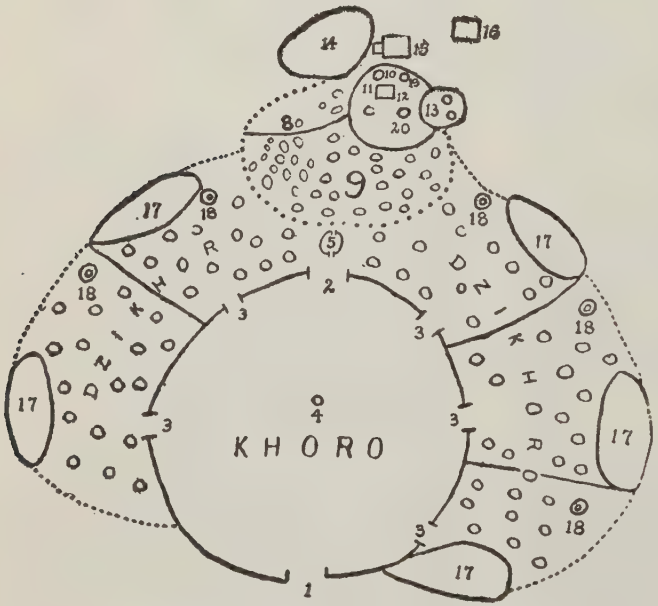
Elke *sia* is gebou binne sy eie afskorting en elke familie binne die *sia* word weer van die ander geskei deur 'n afsonderlike afskorting; op dieselfde wyse word die huisgesinne in die familie weer van mekaar geskei. Elke getroude vrou, wat een of meer kinders het, het haar eie hut (*tshiṱaŋga*), haar eie werf (*muṱa*) wat afgeskei is van die ander *miṱa*, haar eie mieliehok (*tshiṱaṱari*) en graanskuur (*ḓulu*); ook het elke getroude man sy eie hut (*nnḓu*) wat op een of ander wyse afgeskei word binne 'n afsonderlike afskorting en sy eie graanskuur en mieliehok.

Waar dit moontlik is, is die stat van die kaptein of indoena terrasvormig gebou teen die hang van 'n berg of op 'n koppie, 'n berg of rand van waar 'n ver uitsig moontlik is; as sodanige plek nie beskikbaar was nie, is die stat tussen digte bosse gebou. By voorkeur is 'n agtergrond van steil kranse verkies: Tshivhase, Rambuda en ander se statte is vandag nog onder sulke steil kranse. Vroeër het daar slegs een enkele voetpad tussen die bosse deur na die stat geslinger.

Op die volgende bladsy word 'n skets van 'n vroeëre tipiese stat gegee. Daar is slegs een ingang tot so 'n stat; dit is op die laagste plek op die bouterrein en lei 'n mens in die *khoro* wat die vergaderplek is van die mans waar die hofsittinge, raadsvergaderinge en die meeste feestelikhede en danse plaasvind. Dit is 'n sirkelvormige ruimte met 'n diameter van veertig en meer tree binne 'n doringtak-, of paal-, of klipmuur-, of doringboom-



Sketskaart van 'n Stat van 'n Kaptein


KHORO
1. Ingang in khoro
2. Ingang na kaptein se kwartiere
3. Ingang na verskillende dzikhoro
4. Muima vanda
5. Tshivhambo
8. Lutambwe
9. Vrouens van kaptein en sy ongetroude susters en weduwees van sy vader
10. Pfamo
11. Tshiamudana
12. Pfamo
13. Dorsvloer en skure
14. Kraal van kaptein
15. Huis van besoekers
16. Stoor en huis vir besoekers
17. Krale van verskillende dzikhoro
18. Hoofde van dzikhoro
19. en 20. Thondwana's

Sketskaart van Mbulaheni Mphefu se Stat

omheining. In die middel van die *khoro* word gewoonlik 'n boom gelaat, genoem *muima-vaṋa*, (die boom wat in die *vaṋa* of *khoro* staan), waaronder die mans vergader en waarteen die sitplek van die hoof van die stat is. Regoor hierdie ingang is 'n ander hek wat 'n mens lei in die stat; hierdie hek word net soos die eerste elke aand met pale goed afgesluit sodat niemand in of uit die stat kan gaan nie. Regoor die laasgenoemde ingang is die kwartiere van die hoof van die kraal, terwyl die ander inwoners laer af aan die twee kante van die *khoro* woon. Die mees vertroude raadsmanne en familielede van die kaptein woon die naaste aan hierdie hek, terwyl die ander inwoners laer af en verder van die hek woon. ('n Latere ontwikkeling by die westelike stamme is dat vanuit die *khoro* verskillende ingange van die verskillende afdelinge (*masia* of *dzikhoro*) in die stat lei.) Die afdeling van die hoof van die stat is op die hoogste plek in die hele stat en sy eie hut is weer op die hoogste plek in sy afdeling wat, omdat die hek na die *khoro* op die laagste plek in die stat geleë is, meteen ook die verste verwyder is hiervan. Die hoof van elke *sia* woon weer op die hoogste plek in sy afdeling. Die vrouens van elke man bly ietwat laer as die man en die hut van die hoofvrou is net onder die van die man regoor sy hut terwyl die hut van die hoofvrou van die stat voor al die ander hutte gebou word en *thema muḓi* genoem word. Die ander vrouens se hutte word langs en voor die hut van elke hoofvrou gebou.

Van die ingang in die stat lei verskillende kronkelgangetjies (*mikoto*) na die verskillende afdelinge. Hierdie gangetjies skei die verskillende families en *masia* van mekaar. Die gang wat na die kaptein se kwartiere lei, is tussen twee klip- of klei- mure waarop gepunte pale (*maṱeswi*) dig teen mekaar ingeplant is. Die private kwartiere (*mapitoni*) van die kaptein is omring met 'n hoë en breë klipmuur-omheining (*mutsheṱo*) of met 'n omheining van *maṱeswi* op 'n kleimuur. Die klipmuur in Tshivhase se stat is ongeveer ses voet hoog en drie voet breed; so 'n muur word by voorkeur na die patroon by Dzata[1] met plat klippers gebou, wat in twee rye ongeveer drie voet van mekaar opgestapel word, waartussen dan kleiner klippers en gruis gevoeg word. Die kaptein se mees private kwartier is weer van sy vrouens se afdeling deur 'n muur of pale afgeskei.

In die kaptein of indoena se stat vind 'n mens regoor die ingang van die *khoro* na die stat die *tshivhambo* wat 'n groot hut is met twee ope ingange teenoor mekaar. Hierdie hut is die raadshut, wat dien as vergaderplek van die manne ten tyde van ongunstige weer; hier naby is gewoonlik nog 'n hut waarin die graan vir die kaptein se bier of kos gestamp word en waar vier tot twaalf stampblokke in die grond gesink of uit 'n rots uitgekap is. By Mphefu se ou stat is nog 12 sulke stampplekke in 'n rots uitgekap te sien. Van die *tshivhambo* is daar 'n ingang tot die kwartiere van die kaptein, sy vrouens, sy ma, sy *makhadzi* (pa se suster) en sy vader se weduwees. Sy ma bly binne 'n eie afdeling wat *tshiozwi* genoem word. Agter die vrouens se kwartiere is die *lutambwe* of plek waar die raadsmanne die kaptein elke more en aand kom groet, en waar hulle saam met hom gesêls, bier drink en vergader; hier is drie of meer hutte waarvan een 'n stoorplek is van die bierpotte en dromme, een 'n spesiale kombuis is en een 'n hut is waarin die kaptein in koue of reënweer verkeer; ook is hier gewoonlik 'n skaduryke boom. Van die *lutambwe* lei daar 'n ingang in die eintlike private kwartier van die kaptein waar gewoonlik drie hutte gevind word: eers die hut (*thondwana*) van die jonger vrouens (*vhaṱanuni*) van die kaptein wat vir hom kook, dan sy kombuis (*tshiamudana*)) en heelagter sy slaaphut (*pfamo*). 'n Persoon, wat in hierdie private kwartier sonder permissie ingaan, is vroeër onmiddelik gedood; in die *pfamo* is in heel uitsonderlike gevalle slegs persone toegelaat wat volkome vertrou is. Hierin word die *zwitungulo* (erfstukke met godsdienstige betekenis) gehou en die heilige dromme en ander geheime en meer persoonlike besittinge bewaar.

Regs van hierdie private afdeling is die dorsvloer van die kaptein en sy mieliehokke en graanskure. In die kaptein se hoofstat en in sommige indoenas se statte was daar ook nog die *thondo* ('n stamskool), wat 'n hut van klip is en meestal aan die linkerkant van die *khoro* gebou is binne 'n hoë

[1] Dzata is die eerste hoofstat van die Venda in Zoutpansberg. Die ruïnes daarvan kan nog gesien word een myl ten noorde van mphefu se stat.

afskorting wat dit onsigbaar maak van buite af. Die veekraal is meestal agter die stat tussen omringende bosse ; soms is 'n skynkraal aan die voorkant in die *khoro* gebou waarin die beeste in die more vroeg geja word terwyl hulle in die werklike kraal agter die stat vernag het. By die *musanda* by Gaba is nou nog klippers te sien wat in die beespad tussen die twee krale geplant is, sodat geen spore as aanduiding vir die vyand kon dien waar die werklike kraal is nie.

So 'n stat was vroeër besonder versterk ; nie alleen is die mees strategiese posisie in die omgewing of die stamgebied uitgesoek nie, maar rondom die stat was nog 'n ondeurdringbare omheining van doringtakke, of van doringbome of van 'n klipmuur (*mutsheṱo*). By die stat te Gaba is vandag nog al drie soorte omheinings om dieselfde stat te sien : die buitesirkel is 'n omheining van doringtakke en die middelste bestaan uit 'n ry *miswoswo*-bome waarvan die dorings as dit 'n mens se vel stukkend krap swere veroorsaak ; die binnesirkel is 'n klipmuur. 'n Kaptein het altyd probeer om sy stat op 'n plek te bou waar 'n grot in die agtergrond was, waar die vee ingeja word en waar die vrouens en kinders in skuil wanneer die stat aangeval is ; so 'n grot was daar by Mphefu se ou stat. As daar nie so 'n grot was nie, is 'n spesiale skuilplek (*tshikhudo*) van klip gebou. Hierdie *tshikhudo* kom dan aan die agterkant van die stat tussen die omringende bosse. So 'n *tshikhudo* met 'n klipmuur is nog te sien by die genoemde stat by Gaba.

Die omheining sluit aan die voorkant tot teen aan die *khoro ;* aan die agterkant is 'n klein bedekte opening (*tshivhana*) wat in normale tye alleen deur die hoof van die stat mag gebruik word, maar wat in tye van gevaar as uitvlugplek dien vir die inwoners. Nie alleen is die stat op hierdie verskillende maniere versterk teen aanvalle van vyande nie, maar dit is nog op besondere wyse met medisyne beveilig teen towenaars en vyande. Nadat 'n dokter 'n gunstige bouplek aangewys het, word, voordat 'n aanvang gemaak is met die bou van 'n nuwe stat, in 'n sekere nag in teenwoordigheid van die hoof van die stat oral medisyne gesprinkel. Daarna word klippe uit 'n rivierbedding geneem, met medisyne gesmeer, en op verskillende plekke onder die omheining begrawe. As die *themamuḓi* gebou word, smeer die dokter medisyne aan vier stokke wat aan die ooste, weste, suide en noorde van die hut ingeplant word. Die doel van hierdie medisyne is o.a. om wanneer kwaadwilliges die inwoners kwaad wil aandoen, 'n groot duisternis te laat ontstaan sodat die persone verdwaal. Eindelik word 'n klip naby 'n diep kuil in die rivier uit die water geneem, en wortels van sekere rivierplante (o.a. van *dzhesixondo*) en van die rivierboom *muṋengeledzi*, enige sand uit die rivier en 'n brulpadda word versamel ; dit alles word saam met medisyne in 'n pot geplaas en by die ingang begrawe, sodat almal wat in die *khoro* gaan, daaroor moet heenstap. Daaroor word dan 'n stok horisontaal oor die grond aan weerskante van die ingang tussen twee penne wat in die grond ingedryf is gelê nadat dit (die stok) met medisyne gesmeer is. Die stok word genoem *luvhambo* en dientengevolge word die ingang self ook so genoem. Die doel van hierdie medisyne is om, wanneer kwaaddoeners die stat nader, hulle onder die indruk te bring dat hulle by 'n diep gat water is. By die stat van 'n kaptein, waar elke keer as 'n nuwe kaptein opvolg 'n nuwe ingang gebou word, word, behalwe hierdie verskillende dinge, ook nog skedels van mense wat met hierdie geleentheid gedood is, onder altwee hekke begrawe.[1] Bodien is daar nog aan die agterkant van die stat buite die omheining penne in die grond geslaan nadat dit met medisyne gesmeer is.

Karakteristieke kenmerke van die Venda stat is, soos uit hierdie beskrywing blyk, die volgende : die strategiese en versterkte posisie daarvan ; die *mutsheṱo* wat 'n mens laat dink aan die Zimbabweboustyl ; die rangposisie van die hutte van die hoof van die stat, van die hoofde van *masia*, van huisgesinne en van families, die besonder private

[1] n Nuwe ingange word gebou wanneer die nuwe kaptein met die herbegrafnis van sy voorganger die *u pembela* dans. Dit geskied gewoonlik drie jaar na die dood van die vorige kaptein. Eers wanneer die nuwe kaptein hierdie *u pembela* dans uitgevoer het is hy beskkou as 'n werklike kaptein. Vir drie agtereenvolgende kapteins word 'n sekere familie benoem en die hoof van hierdie familie moet dan met so 'n geleentheid 'n ou man en twee kinders dood en die skedels van hierdie drie word dan in die ingange begrawe. Die persone se vel is afgeslag en is oor die heilege drom (me) van die kaptein gespan. Oor hierdie mensvel was daar 'n beesvel.

karakter van die kaptein se kwartiere ; die *khoro* as sosiale sentrum van die stat en die beveiligde posisie van die beeste agter die stat.

Aangesien die mense nie meer in gevaar van oorlog is nie, is die statte vandag nie meer versterk nie en bly die mense oral verspreid in kleiner statte en krale. Dit is nog net die kapteins en sommige indoenas se statte wat enigermate beantwoord aan die patroon van stat soos hierbo geskets is. Tog volg die meeste ander krale en statte nog in breë trekke die ou patroon. Al is daar slegs een huisgesin in 'n kraal dan woon die hoof nog op die verste plek van die ingang of op die hoogste plek in die kraal terwyl sy vrou (ens) voor hom woon ; die verskillende graanskure en mieliehokke is nog net soos vroeër aan die agterkant van die betrokke hutte. Maar die *khoro* word nog net by groot statte of statte van indoenas gevind ; in gewone krale is die vergaderplek van die mans by die hutte van die manlike inwoners ; die vrouens vergader nog soos vroeër in die *muṱa*, en elke vrou en elke getroude man woon binne elkeen se afsonderlike afskorting. Rondom die *muḓi* is soms 'n takomheining met 'n opening vir 'n in- en uitgang. Die veekraal is soms agter en soms voor die *muḓi*, en agter die stat of kraal is die varkhokke. Enkele individue het vandag Europese huise met een of meer hutte daarby.

Die bou van 'n *musanda* verskil ook heelwat van die vroeëre styl. Sommige indoenas se statte is maar heel klein maar by byna almal word nog die *khoro*, *tshivhambo*, *lutambwe* en *pfamo* gevind. Hierby is 'n afbeelding van Mphefu se stat wat in sekere mate, meer as wat dit die geval is met die oostelike hoofstatte, afwyk van die tipiese stat. Sy stat is gebou volgens die westelike manier, met verskillende ingange vanuit die *khoro* na die verskillende afdelinge. Dit is gebou op die vlakte en die bosse rondom is merendeels uitgekap ; ook gaan daar 'n motorpad verby. Rondom sy stat is nie meer 'n omheining nie en die inwoners gaan aan die agterkant van die afdelinge in en uit. Die veekraal van die kaptein is agter sy stat, maar aan die agterkant van elke *sia* is ook 'n veekraal en varkhokke. Agter in sy private kwartier is 'n huis na Europese styl gebou, wat dien as slaapplek en spens en as bewaarplek van sy meer persoonlike besittinge ; hier agter is nog 'n huis wat dien as stoorplek en 'n rondawelhuis wat dien as verblyfplek vir hoë besoekers. Enkele inwoners het vierkantige in plaas van ronde hutte., Die private karakter van die kaptein se kwartiere word nie meer so streng gehandhaaf soos by die oostelike stamme nie.

Die *tshilshudo* word hier nie meer gevind nie. Origens verskil die stat nie op aanmerklike wyse van die hierbo beskrewe vroeëre hoofstat nie.

Aangesien die naturelle vroeër hoofsaaklik in die statte van die kapteins en hoofmanne gekonsentreer was, was hul sosiale organisasie 'n lewende en hegte eenheid. Die bewoners van dieselfde *muvhundu* was op 'n besondere wyse aan hul hoofman en aan mekaar verbind en hulle het 'n aparte sosiale eenheid gevorm. Tog was hulle weer organies gebind aan ander *mivhundu* deur die kaptein en die lewe en werk in die hoofstat.

THE BRITISH PROTECTORATES IN SOUTH AFRICA[1]

The British theory of what is commonly called "indirect rule," first practised and developed by Lugard in Northern Nigeria when he was Governor of that newly conquered country forty-four years ago, is based upon the idea that Native policy and administration should take account of the pre-existing indigenous political and social structure, and use this structure, however constituted, as a means of developing Native responsible but subordinate local self-government. In Northern Nigeria we found Mohammedan Emirs with long established and, on the whole, fairly efficient Native Courts administering Mohammedan law in what had for several centuries been the ancient Hausa city states of Kano, Bauchi, Sokoto, Katsina, Zaria, and others. When British administration was first authoritatively established in Uganda in the same year 1900, we found in that new Protectorate at least four long established Bantu tribes with ancient dynasties of hereditary Chiefs and a system of Councils called Lukikos composed, not of hereditary but of Native administrative functionaries who graduated from headmen to sub-district chiefs, country or "Saza" Chiefs, as they are called, and finally to Native Ministers—the largest, most powerful and advanced being the Kingdom of Buganda—today with approximately one million subjects. Here, too, we kept and still keep the Chiefs, their Ministers and Lukikos. Sometimes by edict, sometimes—as in Buganda—by formal treaty we recognized the pre-existing Native polity and took ultimate control of it. For example, the Kabaka of Buganda, the hereditary Chief, cannot appoint a Saza Chief or a Minister without our approval, nor can he dismiss them without our approval. The pre-existing Native Courts were allowed to continue functioning in all civil cases between Natives, and gradually more and more criminal jurisdiction has been conferred on them. In some of the major Northern Nigerian Courts which have professionally trained Native Judges, full jurisdiction even to "capital" cases has now been granted—subject to (1) the right of the European Courts to hear appeals from the Native Court; (2) the right to transfer any case from the Native to our Court, and (3) in cases resulting in a capital sentence subject to confirmation by the Governor in Executive Council advised by the European Chief Justice.

Indirect rule has now been extended by us to the whole of Nigeria. In South Western Nigeria this was fairly easy as in that area there are a number of big Chiefs, such as the Alake of Abeokuta, the Alafin of Oyo, and the Oba of Benin, of long standing and accepted authority. But in South Eastern Nigeria there were neither Emirs nor Chiefs and no higher indigenous social or political organization than small village communities embracing in all a population of over five millions. Here we gradually built up a system of "Native Court Districts" at first in small areas and then in larger federations. The functionaries of these Native Court districts were then given in addition to judicial functions sundry administrative duties much in the same way as the Quarter Sessions of Justice of the Peace in England functioned as the local Government Authority in the counties until County Councils as we know them today were established. Indirect rule may be said to have been based everywhere on a recognized system of Native Courts, then later on a Native Administrative Authority carrying out local Government functions and finally on a local Treasury.

The European impact on African polity and economy everywhere substituted a money economy for an economy based on tributes in kind and in labour services. No local "self government" worthy of the name is possible in a money economy unless and until the instrument of local government, however constituted, learns by practice the arts of financial responsibility. In

1 This article is based on an address which Lord Harlech delivered to the Joint Council of Europeans and Africans in Cape Town on 1 February 1944. It is reproduced here by permission of the Christian Council of South Africa and the Lovedale Press which originally published it as a pamphlet.

Nigeria as in Uganda and elsewhere where the British policy of indirect rule has been evolved, the local Native Treasury has become almost the central and most significant feature. The Native Treasury account of the Emirate of Kano now balances at a figure of over £250,000 a year, and of the Kingdom of Buganda in Uganda at about £175,000 a year. The revenue of these Native Treasuries is partly found by a varying proportion of the direct tax, hut or poll tax, income tax, cattle tax and the like, payable to the British Administration, and partly by additional taxation legally levied by the local Native Authority at its own pleasure.

This triune system of legally recognized Native Authorities, Native Courts and Native Treasuries has since 1920 been extended to the Protectorate of Sierra Leone, the Northern Territories Protectorate of the Gold Coast and to Ashanti, to Tanganyika Territory, Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia, and to some extent in Kenya, and is now in process of being introduced into the Gold Coast Colony proper.

In the High Commission Territories in South Africa the introduction of this policy of indirect rule is quite recent. The full triune system is now in operation fully in the Bechuanaland Protectorate, good progress is being made with its introduction in Basutoland, and it is still hoped to make a beginning with it in Swaziland, but so far no success has attended our efforts. We have been endeavouring to bring Swaziland into line with British policy in Africa for the last three years.

The indigenous polities in the three High Commission Territories are sharply differentiated and have little in common. I must therefore endeavour to paint in broad outline the basic facts.

BECHUANALAND

In the Bechuanaland Protectorate we have eight quite separate and independent tribes, with eight principal Chiefs. Society is still highly tribal and communal in its character. By far the most numerous as well as the most extensive is the Bamangwato under the very able leadership of its Regent Chief Tshekedi Khama, the youngest surviving son of the famous Chief Khama, with his capital at Serowe, the largest purely Native town south of the Equator. Three other Bechuana tribes are of some standing and importance. The Bangwaketse, with their capital at Kanye, the Bakgatla with their capital at Mochudi, and the Bakwena with their capital at Molepolole. Each of these are compact and distinct Bantu tribes under their "rightful" Chiefs or regents acting for them. Perhaps the most significant thing about these Bechuana tribes is the concentration of population in the tribal capital. Rather more than half the Bakgatla tribe live in Mochudi. Half the Bangwaketse and Bakwena live in their tribal capitals, and nearly one third of all Tshekedi's people live in Serowe.

In Ngamiland, however, we find a very different state of affairs. The Chief of the Batawana Reserve resides in Maun, but the bulk of the population are not really Batawana but include large numbers of Damara refugees from ex-German East Africa and the scattered fragments of a number of small chiefless tribes. Maun is a small place and the bulk of the Natives live elsewhere, many of them at great distances from the Batawana tribal centre. There is nothing like the cohesion or social or racial unity that one finds in the Eastern part of the Protectorate.

The Bechuana polity is also distingushed by the existence of firmly established local Councils called *Kgotlas* who have a right to a say in all matters, political, judicial and administrative, and a considerable tradition of legislative initiative and action.

BASUTOLAND

The Basutos of Basutoland are an African Nation rather than a tribe. Their long vanished tribal origins are mixed in the extreme. The Basutoland Nation has been created and fashioned into a unity by long processes of wars and assimilation by one man—and a great man—Moshesh —who, though not of chiefly status or origin and being of Bechuana descent, led the assorted Highlanders of Mountain Basutoland in war, first against the Zulus under Chaka and Dingaan, then against the Korannas, then against Moselikatze and his Matabele, then against the trek

Boers and finally against the British in several wars until in advanced old age he handed his followers and his country over to Queen Victoria in 1868. Moshesh was the *de facto* independent personal ruler of Basutoland from 1818 to 1868. Moshesh was a statesman and law giver as well as a warrior—a very remarkable man. The very existence of Basutoland and the whole structure of its social order bears to this day the personal impress of Moshesh. Under the British Administration the *de facto* Native Authority—and quite recently *de jure*—is the "House of Moshesh," the now numerous descendants of the man who was not a Chief but made himself a great Chief. Today the House of Moshesh is an inbred aristocracy, filling not only the Paramountcy but most of the functionary offices of district and even subdistrict Chiefs, Court functionaries and the various Native official posts.

There is in addition to the Paramountcy and the customary rights and powers of the twenty-seven wards or principal district Chiefs directly subordinate to the Paramountcy, a Basutoland National Council consisting of 100 Native members which now meets annually under the Chairmanship and Presidency of the British Resident Commissioner. This body is at present consultative rather than executive. It is in fact composed of the principal men of the nation—nearly all of them "Sons of Moshesh." Under the Native Authorities Proclamation issued by the British High Commissioner, the Paramount Chief enjoys subordinate legislative as well as executive powers. There is now quite a lot of this by-law legislation particularly in regard to agricultural practice—the enforcement of cultivation, grazing restrictions, protection of soil erosion works, trees and tree planting, etc.—all enforceable in the Native Courts.

At the present moment there is a "Regency" in Basutoland. The last Paramount Chief, Seeiso, died early in 1941 leaving two small sons by his "principal wife" who when adult will be the "rightful" successors to the Paramountcy. During their minority the "Sons of Moshesh" in formal meeting selected one of Seeiso's widows named Mantsebo (not the mother of the male heirs) to act as Regent during their minority. A woman regent is an entirely new thing in Basuto history. It is inevitable under the circumstances that the Regent, by virtue of her sex and lack of experience being unable to fulfil all the functions of a Paramount Chief—is largely in the hands of an "entourage" of Chiefs—i.e. a sort of unofficial inner Council of her relations. At the last meeting of the Basutoland National Council it became clear that this Council is now on the upgrade and likely to acquire more power—the personal authority of the Regent being to a corresponding extent diminished, as the authority of the National Council develops.

The Native Courts of Basutoland have been "recognized" by law in quite recent years. They vary in jurisdiction from small headmen's courts up to the Regent's Court of Appeal at her capital, Matsieng, presided over by one of her uncles in her name. That there are too many Native Courts is generally admitted. Appeals lie from the small Courts of first instance to the district Chief's Court, and thence to the Paramount Native Court of Appeal, and thence to the British Magistrate or to the High Court, as the case may be. There is as yet no separate Native Treasury or Treasuries in Basutoland as there are in the Bechuanaland Protectorate, but this reform is at this moment under consideration and negotiation. At present the necessary income of the Chiefs and their functionaries is all too dependent on the usufruct of the Native Court fines, and it is obviously desirable that, as in Nigeria, Uganda, the Bechuanaland Protectorate and elsewhere under British Administration, both Chiefs and their necessary Native functionaries should be on a fixed salaried basis payable from the audited revenues of the Native Treasury.

SWAZILAND

In Swaziland there is as yet no legally constituted Native Authority; there are Native Courts of a kind with purely civil jurisdiction but without legal recognition or any proper system of appeals, and there is no Native Treasury.

There is *de facto* a Paramount Chief, but his relations with the British Administration, and his

powers, are irregular and not legally recognized by Proclamation, law, or the Courts. At present any orders and actions of the Paramount Chief have no legal validity and are purely arbitrary in character.

The polity of Swaziland is peculiar and anomalous. In most matters there is concurrent customary jurisdiction of the Paramount Chief and a Queen Mother (who is not the actual mother of the Paramount Chief). The Paramount Chief and the Queen Mother have separate kraals and a separate collection of functionaries. But the agreed assent—not always an easy matter—of both the Paramount Chief and the Queen Mother is needed for most actions.

The Paramount Chief has an inner Council which he is not free to constitute at will, but which consists of certain clan or particular family representatives whose approval is necessary before he can take any action. Doubt is sometimes expressed as to whether in fact or custom the Paramount Chief is deserving of that title as his powers and duties are so circumscribed by the Queen Mother on the one hand and his hereditary Councillors on the other. The succession to the Paramountcy is peculiar in Swaziland. The Paramount Chiefs have always been pagan and polygamous. The present Paramount Chief has forty-five wives recognized as wives. He has accordingly a numerous progeny, but he does not know and probably will never know which of his sons will be his heir—the custom being that virtually on his deathbed the Queen Mother then selects one of the many wives as the principal wife and her eldest son is usually ultimately recognized as Paramount Chief after a minority, during which the Queen Mother and the Council carry on the rather vague functions of Native government. Several attempts have been made by successive Secretaries of State in London to regularize the position in Swaziland, but the Swazi Chiefs themselves have so far proved very resistant to any such policy as they have to all missionary or Christian influences. When Swaziland was first made a British Protectorate by Lord Selborne in 1903 he made it clear to the Swazis that we could not and would not recognize any "independent" Sovereignty in Swaziland and this has been recently re-emphasized by Mr. Attlee in reply to a petition of Sobhuza to the King last year.

Educationally, economically and financially the Basuto are far in advance of the Natives of either the Bechuanaland Protectorate or Swaziland. But admittedly the outstanding African in the High Commission Territories today is Tshekedi Khama. In intelligence, energy, leadership and general capacity he is an outstanding personality. The rightful Chief of the Bamangwato is Tshekedi's eldest brother's son, Seretse Khama, now an undergradute at Fort Hare. When Seretse "comes of age," and in years he is already adult, the leadership of the Bamangwato will fall upon his shoulders.

The Bechuana tribesmen are essentially pastoralists still based largely on a cattle economy. Agriculturally and climatically their land is poor. The Basuto of Basutoland are primarily cultivators and to a much less extent pastoralists. The economy of Basutoland is now essentially a money economy. The whole of Basutoland is Native land and there are no European settlers, farmers, or land holders. The land system may be broadly described as family tenant right descending from father to son or brother within a system of land nationalization. There are about 120,000 individual holdings. This year in Basutoland over one million acres are under the plough growing crops —wheat, maize, kafir corn, peas and beans. There are 600,000 Africans domiciled in Basutoland as against 300,000 in the Bechuanaland Protectorate and 170,000 in Swaziland. But there are more than twice the number of Native owned cattle in the Bechuanaland Protectorate than in Basutoland, and more Native owned cattle in Swaziland than in Basutoland, the Swazis being primitive pastoralists and poor agriculturists. The Basuto are among the best Native agriculturists in Africa. As regards stock they are celebrated for their ponies and their merino sheep. The annual value of Native owned wool exported from Basutoland is over £250,000. There being no industrial colour bar in Basutoland there are numbers of skilled craftsmen in the country, masons, saddlers, and leather workers, smiths and

metal workers, mechanics, carpenters, joiners and furniture makers. Such artisans are extremely rare in the other two Territories. The Basutoland Government is comparatively well off. This year it will end up with no debt, no loan charges and about £500,000 surplus balances in cash. Both the Bechuanaland Protectorate and Swaziland have some difficulty in balancing local revenue and expenditure, and for development are dependent on grants from the United Kingdom taxpayer. In the last five years a lot of money has been spent and very extensive works carried out to combat soil erosion in Basutoland and today in Basutoland you can see whole catchment areas protected by contour banks and similar works. Basutoland is in the lead in this matter and can show remarkable results.

Basutoland (except for a small number of European traders, officials and missionaries) is a wholly Native territory. There are no minerals in Basutoland.

In Bechuanaland there are several European blocks (Tuli, Tati Concession area, Gaberones and Lobatsi blocks and Ghansi Settlement area in West Ngamiland) in addition to the eight demarcated Native reserves.

Swaziland is very different. About two-thirds of Swaziland is European owned and only one third—and that scattered—is Native reserve. These European rights go back to the time when Swaziland was administered by the Transvaal Republic before British administration was introduced. There is a considerable Afrikaner farmer population—sheep farmers along the Western border, tobacco growers in the South and ranchers in the low-lying bush veld. There is every reason to believe that Swaziland is highly mineralized. Tin is now being worked, but the biggest mining venture on a large scale is the Havelock Asbestos Mine in the North West. Extensive coal deposits outcrop along the Lebombo flats but in the absence of any railway in Swaziland these are not worked. Iron ore, corundum, gold, calcite and other economic minerals are known to exist, but again absence of communications makes any development difficult. Whereas Basutoland and the Bechuanaland Protectorate have been continuously under direct British Administration since European administration was first established in 1868 and 1886 respectively, Swaziland only became a British Protectorate after the Boer War in 1903. Before that it was administered as a separate dependency by the Transvaal Republic till 1893 when, with the approval of the then Liberal Government in England, it was fully incorporated in the Transvaal Republic. The Western boundary of the Protectorate is highly artificial, several thousands of Swazi living in the Transvaal and the boundary cutting across individual European farms most of whose owners actually reside on the Transvaal side of the border. Thus Swaziland causes more difficulties for whoever is High Commissioner than the other two territories put together.

As to European administration of the Territories, whoever is High Commissioner for the United Kingdom to the Union is also made High Commissioner for the three Territories in which latter capacity he has the powers and duties of a Colonial Governor in any non-self-governing dependency under the Colonial Office. He is the sole fount of law and legislates for the three Territories *proprio motu* by Proclamation. Policy is laid down, financial control exercised, and staffing appointments and promotions made from Whitehall. As High Commissioner for the Territories he has a staff consisting of an Administrative Secretary from the Colonial Service, a Legal Adviser (who is also High Court Judge of all three Territories) and an Auditor, etc.

Under the High Commissioner are the three Resident Commissioners appointed on promotion and interchange from the British Colonial Service. The present Resident Commissioners of Basutoland and Swaziland had their previous service in Nigeria. The Resident Commissioner of the Bechuanaland Protectorate came from our service in Uganda. The Director of Agriculture in Basutoland came from Kenya, and of Swaziland from the Gold Coast. The Medical Adviser and Director of Medical Services for the Territories was formerly in Nigeria. Inevitably their experience elsewhere in Tropical Africa and familiarity with United Kingdom policy of indirect rule

colours their outlook and methods of administration. British Colonial "regulations" and conditions of service apply to officials throughout. Though the District Commissioners under the Resident Commissioners combine judicial with political and administrative functions, they are never referred to as magistrates. Each Territory has a small European staff of all necessary departments, viz. Treasury, Medical, Agricultural, Veterinary, Education, Public Works and Police. The police are mainly armed Native police under European officers. During the war 20,000 Basuto, 9,000 Bechuana and 3,000 Swazis have been serving up North under Imperial officers with the Imperial forces. The Basuto wear the famous 8th Army flash and have followed the fortunes of General Montgomery's army and are mostly now in Italy. All are armed and trained to the use of firearms from the commencement. The Basuto have some advantages over the others in that they are more adaptable to a cold winter climate, Basutoland being subject to severe frosts and snowfalls. Also, a far higher proportion of Basuto are literate in English. Being a nation of highland peasants rather than an ordinary Bantu tribe they are more individualistic and self reliant. The Basuto and Bechuana have won golden opinions for their conduct and value in this war. As regards the vernaculars, Basuto and Bechuana can easily understand each other, but the Swazi language belongs with Zulu and Shangaan to the Nguni group and is quite different. The vast majority of Basuto and Bechuana are now Christians, while the great majority of Swazis are still pagans, much ridden by witchcraft and similar superstitions. In every way the Swazi are more backward than the inhabitants of the other two Territories, other than the Bushmen and half Bushmen and some small subordinate communities in Ngamiland and the Kalahari Desert of the Bechuanaland Protectorate, many of whom are still nomadic food gatherers and hunters and not food producers.

I have told you sufficient to indicate the main differences between the Africans of the three High Commission Territories, and the complexities or difficulties to which these differences give rise. When all is said and done, however, these differences are not so great as one finds within the confines of Nigeria and, above all, Kenya. Kenya, before British Administration was first established in 1895, was the ancient fighting ground between Africans of three far more divergent racial and linguistic stocks. There the Bantu are represented by the Wa-Kikuyu and the Wa-Kamba. The Hamitic are represented by the nomadic and warlike Masai, Nandi, Lumbwa and Turkanas; the Nilotic stocks from the Sudan by the Kavirondo. These three groups of Africans have less in common in custom, language and polity than the races of Europe as a whole. Many generations of the Arab slave trade that continued till near the end of the last century tended to complicate an already complex situation; while since the establishment of British Rule there have been more immigrants from India than from Europe or South Africa, but the Arabs have now retreated to the coastal strip. Kenya looks large on the map but its total population of all races is less than much smaller Uganda, where the Bantu are in large majority.

It has been my good fortune not only to serve as a Minister in the Colonial Office from 1922 to 1929 and again from 1936 to 1938, but to have myself visited every single British dependency in Central, East and West Africa, and I have thus been able to bring to the three Territories here an intimate knowledge of what has been done elsewhere in this Continent. In Basutoland and the Bechuanaland Protectorate policy and administration are being gradually but steadily assimilated to British ideas and practice in West and East Africa. Whether it will be possible to make any progress on similar lines in Swaziland remains a matter of speculation, not for want of trying on our part but from the continued resistance of the Swazis to our policy.

Inevitably all three Territories are economically dependent on the Union. Much of the wealth of Basutoland is earned by Basuto in wage employment in the Union. The Bechuanaland Protectorate is unable to grow enough food to sustain its present population and is dependent upon imports of grain from the Union and on Union markets for

its main export, viz. slaughter cattle. The Swazis are in much the same economic position as the Bechuana, and the principal crop of the European farmers of Swaziland is tobacco which sells in Union markets. Its minerals are now being developed by European mining companies.

There is about one mile of Union railway in Basutoland—no railway whatever in Swaziland—but the Bechuanaland Protectorate is traversed for nearly 500 miles by the main line of the Rhodesia railways from Mafeking to Bulawayo. The bulk of the population of the Bechuanaland Protectorate lives within forty miles of this railway. The market for the Southern and Eastern part of the Bechuanaland Protectorate is Johannesburg. The market for Ngamiland is the Northern Rhodesia copperbelt via the Zambezi and Livingstone.

Basutoland and the Bechuanaland Protectorate can balance their budgets but Swaziland's exiguous revenues require supplementation by the British taxpayer. Education and public health services are still expanding at a good rate in both Basutoland and the Bechuanaland Protectorate but less progress has been achieved in Swaziland which educationally is very backward.

SOME HISTORICAL NOTES ON AFRICAN TONE LANGUAGES

M. D. W. JEFFREYS

Many African Languages are tone languages, that is to say they employ the same sound but with different tones to denote different things and ideas, etc. e.g.

A D A = a room A D Ā = a barren woman
A D A = a friend Ā D A = he stands.
Ā D A = he takes.
Ā D Ā = a fish.(1)

Such sense-differentiating tones are called semantic tones. Difference in tone is also used to fix the relation of words to each other in a sentence, (e.g., Genitive Case. Tense: Negation.) Such grammatical tones are called syntactical tones.

How recent or how ancient is our knowledge that many African languages are tone languages? Judging by the remarks of a great linguist, Otto Jespersen, this knowledge is very recent and very meagre, nevertheless his remarks reflected the general opinion at that time. In 1928, he wrote as follows:—

"About the languages spoken nowadays by savage tribes we have generally very little information, as most of those who have made a first-hand study of such languages have not been trained to observe and to describe these delicate points: still, there is of late years an increasing number of observations of tone accents, for instance in African languages, which may justify us in thinking that tone plays an important part in many primitive languages."(2)

Here Jespersen begs the question. He asserts that many "primitive languages" employ tones. On an earlier page he triumphantly points out that in 1883, Ernest Kuhn gave the death blow "to the dogma of the primitiveness of Chinese speech", an essentially tone language. Hence one concludes that tones in a language are no indication of primitiveness. Jespersen was apparently ignorant of the brilliant work of an African, Bishop Crowther. Had Jespersen been aware of Crowther's work he could not possibly have written as he did.

In this article I attempt to give some answer to the question already propounded, namely, "How recent or how ancient is our knowledge that many African languages are tone languages?"

It was not until after the 1914-1918 war that the recognition of the tonal basis of most West African languages became widespread and intensive studies of selected West African languages further confirmed this recognition. When was the tonal structure of a West African language first recorded? The answer is, more than a century ago.

After years of reading of literature on Africa I have collected a few notes or references to the recognition of tonal languages in West Africa and as this subject has not been touched on before, I present herewith in chronological sequence the allusions to the use of tones in West African languages.

The earliest reference that I have so far found is that by Mungo Park who wrote:—"The drum is likewise applied on these occassions (wrestling matches) to keep order among the spectators, by imitating the sound of certain Mandingo sentences: for example, when the wrestling match is about to begin, the drummer strikes what is understood to signify *ali boe see*, 'sit all down'; upon which spectators immediately seat themselves; and when the combatants are to begin, he strikes *amnta*, *amuta*, take hold, take hold." [29] The next is that by Bowditch, who, visiting the Gold Coast and Ashanti in 1817, wrote:—

"They [the Ashantees] frequently are obliged to vary the tone in pronouncing a word which has more than one meaning as the Chinese do . . The Natives declare that they can converse by means of their flutes and an old resident at Accra has assured me he has heard these dialogues, and that every sentence was explained to him."(3)

Bowditch was an astute observer and more will be heard of the ability to transmit speech by tones alone. Bowditch's discovery remained unrecognized for nearly half a century, when Burton, another astute observer, made the same discovery and apparently, quite independently of that of Bowditch, because Burton makes no reference to him. However some ten years before Burton, Alfred Saker had recorded that West African drums talked. "In June [1853] on the third Sabbath day, the noise of [Bimbia, Cameroons] drums was heard, a canoe made its appearance at the point. And what was this noise? The drum was telling (the Natives can make their drums to speak) the horrible tale of their own cruel deed." (4)

Burton went on a mission to the king of Dahomey and published his account in 1864. In it he made some observations on the language.

"Except when absolutely necessary, I shall not use, in writing Native vocales, accents or diacritical marks: these serve only to puzzle the reader, without enabling him to reproduce the sound of foreign words. In the future dictionaries, however, the words must be distinguished by accents, not as in English, by spelling e.g. 'boy' and 'buoy': 'thy' and 'thigh' and so forth. . . . No one could explain the meaning of the word (Zóbeme). *Zó* means the later rains, and must not be comfounded with *Zò*, fire, which is pronounced with a depression of the voice. The Yoruban languages, like the Chinese, depend upon accents and intonations which are not ours. For instance *So* or *Soh*, slightly aspirated, is a stick. Sò, with a falling of the voice has the same significance as *Khevio-sò*, thunder. Só, with a rising of the voice, means a horse: and with an almost imperceptible variation of the voice, means bring: e.g. *Só zò wá*, bring hither fire. Sô (pronounced saw) means yesterday or to-morrow," (5)

No attention has been paid to Burton's recommendations or discovery. Diacritical marks still clutter and encumber the pages of vernacular literature. I recollect the sharp dispute there was in Calabar at a linguistic conference presided over by Professor Westermann. The question of orthography for African languages arose. The script proposed by the International Institute of African languages was hotly opposed by the Missions even when it was pointed out that it was quicker to write ɔ than ö, or ŋ than ñ; one sign instead of two. The battle of the scripts was left in abeyance: but with the Nigerian Government adopting it, a change has come about in the ranks of the missions and Burton's recommendations of the non-use of diacritical marks is at last honoured.

Burton thus demonstrated three semantic tones in the language of Dahomey; the falling, the rising, and the level or middle tone. To what extent he and Bishop Crowther influenced each other by their linguistic investigations will never be known; but the first, full, and clear enunciation of semantic tones in West African languages was given by Bishop Crowther in his Nupe grammar. He had a clear grasp of the need for distinguishing the tones of written words because, unless so distinguished, the meaning of a word could not be ascertained at a glance.

Bishop Crowther's remarks are so excellent, so sure, and so to the point that I quote them extensively, because they are known to so few and should be known by so many:—

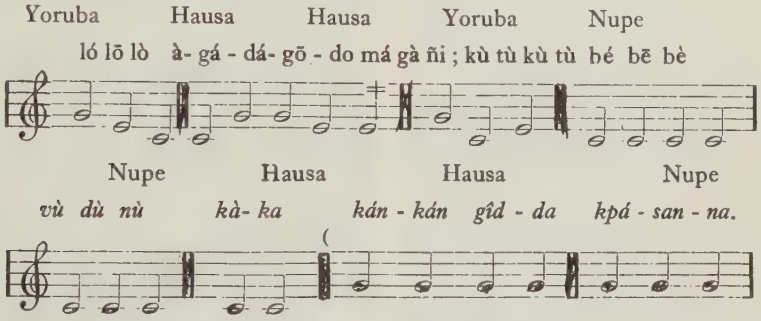
"As in the Yoruba, the knowledge of intonation is an important part in the study of the language: nothing makes speaking these languages so difficult for foreigners, and the reading of the translation into them so uncertain, as want of the knowledge of intonation, and the absence of marks to point them out. The reading of these translations *will ever continue to be uncertain and incorrect* without some marks to distinguish the tones, as would equally have been the case with the pronounciation of the peculiar sounds in African languages represented by *gb : kp : tši : etc.* if they had not been thus distinctly pointed out.

"Some marks of intonation are made in the Yoruba translations, which have been of material use both to foreigners and Natives: a general rule may be laid down in course of time, so as to lessen the frequent and numerous employments of these marks, and simplify the letters, while at the same time rendering the reading easy and intelligible. On the other hand, a total absence of such marks, or the indiscriminate employment of only one kind to represent both high and low tones, gives

rise to much difficulty and confusion in reading translations into African languages. This remark is applicable to the Hausa translations and to my printed copy of the Ibo Primer, in both of which the acute accent only is employed and the grave, to mark depressed tone, is entirely discarded. This is a very great mistake, from whatever cause it was done.

" The Yoruba language has often been remarked by the Missionaries as musical: this is perfectly correct: so are also the Hausa: Nupe, and in some degree, the Ibo. In Yoruba, Nupe, and Hausa, drummers when desirous to express *sentiment* or feeling of any kind produce *tones* on their instruments by compression of the drum-strings, or by damping the tone of their instruments with their fingers, somewhat in the same way as the fiddler regulates with his fingers the strings of his instrument.

" To be as plain as possible on this important head, I shall illustrate it on musical lines of scale. The tones prevalent in these, our languages, may be represented by three notes.


Yoruba Hausa Hausa Yoruba Nupe
ló lō lò à- gá - dá- gō - do má gà ñi ; kù tù kù tù bé bē bè
Nupe Hausa Hausa Nupe
vù dù nù kà- ka kán - kán gîd - da kpá - san - na.

" As these three notes in the first example represent different sounds, so words in Yoruba, Nupe, and Hausa, though spelt alike, have their different tones and meanings. For example, ' lo ' in Yoruba, without any mark to distinguish it, may have any of the three sounds, and bear any one of the following meanings; with the sound[1] G, it means ' to twist '; with the sound of E, it means ' to go '; and with the sound of C, it means ' to grind '. As in the above first scale of notes. The same in Nupe: ' bé ' with the tone of G, means ' to come '; with that of E, means ' again ', and with that of C, means ' to resemble ', to be similar.

" If the difficulties of tones lay in these simple monosyllables only, they might be got over by the sense of the sentence of which they are members; but when a polysyllable contains two or all these three tones how is it to be known how to pronounce it without a guide, as in the Yoruba word, *agadagodo*, ' look ', in the second example, and the Hausa word, *magani* ' medicine ', in the third example? But let any lady touch these notes on her piano, and she will make the instrument speak as a Native."

" Sometimes the word carries the same tone throughout, as in the Yoruba word *kùtukutu*, ' early in the morning '; the Nupe word *vùdunu*, ' claw '; and the Hausa *kàka*, ' how '; in the fourth example; whereas, on the contrary, the Yoruba word *kankan* ' quickly '; Hausa *gídda*, ' house '; Nupe *kpásanna* ' dry corn stalk '; carry all the high tone of G, as in the fifth example: then, unless some intelligible marks be employed, as the grave accent, to represent the deep tone of C, the acute that of G, and the middle tone be left blank, or some other mark of distinction be adopted, *it is my firm belief* that difficulties in reading our African translation *will ever have to be struggled with*. Ever since the art of reading has been introduced into Yoruba, I have been watching to see how soon these difficulties could be overcome without such an aid, but to no satisfactory result. Every convert who has been taught to read does

[1] [Crowther writes " the sound of G. E. C." but it would be clearer if he had written with " the tone of G. E. C."]

so correctly, as long as he is confined to the particular book that he has been taught; and as he becomes more acquainted with that book, he reads it more readily, whether with or without the marks of intonation: it becomes to him an acquired thing. But if a new book be brought before him, treating on different subjects, without any mark to guide his tone in pronounciation of words, he will try it in three different ways before he arrives at the exact meaning from the sense of the subject: then he will pronounce the words accordingly. As the Natives are taught the art of reading their language by means of signs and representations, these signs and representations must have definite marks in a systematic manner, and must be so complete as to leave no doubt in the mind.

"There is a great difference between a Native speaking his own language and reading the mind of another in the same language in a book: in the first case the idea is his own, the sounds of the words he employs are present to his mind, from which they flow out spontaneously, and he therefore utters them with readiness; but, in the other case, he can only see the mind of another by representation, and if those representations are not complete to his eye, he will hesitate for a while before he arrives at the true meaning of the subject put before him. I do not mean that every word in the translations is necessary to be marked, but in many cases those distinctive marks are indispensable, to prevent mistakes and to facilitate reading. To do this effectually, different marks must be employed to distinguish the deep tone of C, and the high tone of G, and the middle tone of E will not be doubtful, though left unmarked.

"Whatever marks be omitted, the mark for the tone of C must, at all events, be pointed out either by the grave accent, or by any other mark that may be preferred. For when a word is presented to the eye, the high tone G and the middle tone E naturally present themselves to the mind much sooner than the deep tone C. This last tone, therefore, should be above any other, distinctly marked in all our translations; whereas, on the contrary, most unfortunately, it has been discarded both from the Hausa translations and from my Ibo Primer.

"In translating into a newly reduced language, without the aid of a good Native interpreter, there is a great disadvantage if the construction is made according to the idiom of a foreign language, instead of the idea and idiom of the language into which the translations are being made, the force of the original will thus be destroyed. Native idea, idiom, and construction should be studied as much as possible, so as to convey the subject home to the mind through the proper channels." (6)

Migeod in his *Languages of West Africa* quoted Crowther on the essentials of tones and then lightly dismisses the need for them thus:—

"Even if the tones be marked it is not an easy matter to read them correctly at first sight without some previous oral guidance. If their nature be not clearly ascertained in the first instance the possibility may occur that it is overlooked, and they became regarded as stress accents, as has occurred with the accents of ancient Greek. In living languages, which are only learned when required for practical use, and by persons whose occupation takes them to the country where they are spoken, verbal tuition can be obtained, and thereby greater accuracy than can ever be obtained from the most precise and complicated marks.

"For a living language, therefore, tone marks are superfluous, and reading greatly facilitated by their omission from what is possibly an already overloaded text." (7)

Migeod's book became fairly well known. Crowther's brilliance was hidden in a grammar of a little known and less studied language. Crowther asked for two signs to mark the high and low tones hence there is no question of complicated marks. In a dead language there is none to correct one—and in pronounciation *Tot homines-quot sententia*—but in a living language there is one and one way only of pronouncing a word, and, if its meaning depends on tone, then tones are essential for a living language. To learn three tones (i.e. 3 notes) is not a great task.

When I first arrived on the Niger Coast some thirty years ago I was unaware that the languages of West Africa were tonal. The Colonial Office course for fledgling administrative officers consisted of cramming Criminal Law, Colonial

accounts, Mohammedan Law, Tropical Agriculture, Hygiene and Tropical Welfare, Anthropology, into three months. Language study was not part of the syllabus. I remember becoming highly irate over the dreadfully slow manner in which a Native read out in the vernacular certain regulations that had just been promulgated in the Calabar Province. I can recollect to this day wondering why he had to read each sentence over silently first : then mutter it to himself and finally enunciate it out loud to the assembled multitude. I realized later on that he was doing exactly what Bishop Crowther had already described. He was finding the tones that made sense of the words.

The occasions, where this slowness to read the Native vernacular was demonstrated to me time and again, occurred when reviewing Native court cases recorded in the vernacular. In other words, I am in entire agreement with Crowther and utterly opposed to Migeod. I suspect that Migeod was tone deaf and unable to record tones : hence any attempt on his part to write the tones of words would immediately have betrayed his incapacity in this direction. To protect himself from the criticism of discerning phoneticians he airily dismisses the need for tonation.

Migeod also missed the point that a sentence as written may be affirmative or negative according to the tonation ! His remarks therefore about the ease of reading a sentence would completely baffle him if asked whether its meaning were negative or affirmative ; unless there were tone marks to indicated negation or affirmation.

Nevertheless he was uneasily aware of some such feature for he wrote :—

" They may shift the accent in the verb, or may completely change the wording of a sentence, making use of forms that rarely appear except in a negative sentence. In fact, at times it almost seems that a sentence is neutral until either an affirmative or contrary tone or word is added to give it the required tendency . . . . the distinction in one African language, at least the Mende, that a tone is the only distinction that can be said to exist between the sound (it cannot be called a word) for Yes or No."(8)

After Crowther's masterpiece, linguistic research on the West Coast languished for many years. The year 1904 was remarkable for two studies of two different West Coast languages and each emphasized the need for tone marks. One was by Bates of the American Presbyterian Missionin the German Cameroons, on the study of Bulu. He wrote :—

" Certain words in Bulu are always spoken in a higher tone than that of ordinary speech, and others in a lower tone than ordinary. This often affords in speaking a means of distinguishing between homonyms. No way of indicating it has been adopted in writing and printing. In the Vocabulary in this book, the tone of words differing in tone but alike in spelling is indicated by a line over the word for a higher tone than ordinary and one under the word for a lower tone than ordinary. Except the case of homonyms the tone of words has not been indicated in the Vocabulary. Yet many other words have their characteristic tones ; e.g. the common word *môt*, person, is always spoken in a low tone.

" *Note.* This subject is important, and is only beginning to receive attention by White people learning Bulu. Disregard of the tones of words is undoubtedly a great source of the misunderstanding of their talk by Natives that seems to White people so inexplicable. The matter is made worse by the use of modulations of the voice to express emphasis, interrogation, etc. which cause high or low tones to come on the wrong words. The same disastrous effect is produced in a much greater degree when Bulu words are fitted to hymn-tunes."(9)

The other was a Grammar of the Dahomian language. " There are seven vowels. . . . also seven diphthongs. . . . As each of these may be nasalized the number is thus doubled. Again, by saying each syllable in each of three tones, these fourteen vowels are multiplied into forty-two distinct vowel-letters. . . .

" A language in which the vowels are even slightly in excess of the consonants, and that adopts the use of tones, is necessarily musical, and the euphony is increased in the frequently-occurring personal pronoun, third person, accusative, by the influence that the last vowel of the

governing verb or preposition exerts upon that of the pronoun, sometimes amounting to assimilation, and in all cases increasing the euphony. . . .

" The acute and grave accents placed over vowels are only tone marks, the former indicating the upward and the latter the downward inflection of the voice."(10)

Bansfield had the advantage of knowing what Crowther had written fifty years before. Bansfield therefore in his Nupe Dictionary employed tonal marks. " . . . . in consequence of the highly toned character of the Nupe language, the use of accents cannot, at least for the present, be dispensed with. The accents employed are, the acute (ˊ), which significes that the voice is to be raised : the grave (ˋ), that the voice is to be lowered ; the circumflex (ˆ), a raising and lowering of the voice : when no accent is used, it is understood that the word is to be spoken in an even tone, that is, with the voice neither raised nor lowered."(11)

Then the war of 1914-1918 started and linguistic studies declined. A great impetus to African linguistic studies came with the founding of the International Institute of African languages and Cultures and shortly afterwards the tonal basis and structure of West African languages was clearly and convincingly shown in the studies of Dr. Ida Ward who gave us such masterpieces as *The Tonal structure of Efik* and *An Introduction to the Ibo Language.*

To date, however, no unified system of indicating the tones has been adopted. Dr. Ward uses the following :— $\overline{\underline{\ \ \ }}$ and $\overline{\underline{\ \ \ }}$ to indicate the three main tones in long vowels and in short vowels respectively.

To me, however, the best system so far given, is that devised by Bates in his study of the Bulu language. Here only two signs are required and only two positions needed. Thus if (-) is used for long vowels and (.) for short, then a word can be written with the following semantic tones clearly indicated, bo : bo ; bō : bo̱ ; bo. Hesitancy in reading is eliminated where the sign above the letter indicates a high tone and when below, a low tone, and the type of the sign whether it is a long vowel or a short. The middle tone has no tonal sign. It is true that *bo* (middle) may be short or long and this feature also is not indicated, but it is not a very serious defect because the rest of the tonal structure of the sentence will indicate whether the middle tone vowel is long or short.

An early intimation that in an African language tones by themselves could convey speech was, as we have seen, recorded by Bowditch, who reported that Accra Natives could converse by means of their flutes. It was another African Native who, writing in 1921, clinched this matter. Dr. Johnson wrote :—" In Yoruba, vowels are of greater importance than consonants, and tones than vowels : hence the peculiarity of the language, that musical sounds can be employed to convey a correct idea of words in speech."(12)

However, the first full-blooded statement that speech could be conveyed by tones without sounds was made in 1890 by Sir Alfred Maloney, Governor of Lagos :—

" A Yoruba goes so far as to consider that his language is sufficiently musical to be easily imitated instrumentally, and accordingly to allow a player, through his instrument, to convey his thoughts without having recourse to sounds. Such a practice is often referred to as the drum language, viz, the imitation of the human voice by the drums ; and to understand it, one has to know the accents of pronunciation in the vernacular and to be capable of recognising the different and corresponding notes of the drummer."(13)

The Temples recorded a drum language in northern Nigeria. " They (the Tangale) have an elaborate system of drumming (ditto Tala) by which they convey various meanings by the change of notes, not by rhythm as is more commonly the custom."(14)

Mr. Cantle, District Officer, reported the existence of drum languages in the Mamfe Division of the Cameroons Province :—" Like the remainder of the clans of Widekum, the Age, Befang, and Beba peoples are acquainted with the drum language. The Age clan and the villages of Batomo, Mubadji and Bakaw can also send messages by voice, pitched as a kind of yodel, and by whistle. The Befang clan and the village of Mukuru have lost this art. Indeed it is only the

old people who understand the drum language. The young men do not bother to learn it.

" The drum used is made from a log, any size up to six feet long by 3 feet diameter, hollowed out, so as to leave a slit at the top giving four notes. The drum is beaten by one man using sticks, usually made from the midrib of the raphia palm leaf. The expert kneels at the drum and sends out his message without the slightest hesitation or pause, and at great speed. Any message can be sent, and any man in the village called by name." (15)

Mr. Cantle draws attention to the use of the yodel and the whistle as alternative means of sending messages. Further instances of the use of these modes by other tribes will be given later on.

Neither of these two observers indicates that the drum language is reproduced human speech. The next observer makes this point clear :—

" On this hill-top, we had our first experience of the African call-drum. This is a means of communication which has been in use in the Cameroons for many generations. The drum is a section of hollowed log three or four feet long and perhaps two feet in diameter, the ends of which are plugged with wood. In the top, a narrow slit, about two inches in width, has been cut opening into the hollow interior. Beating with two drumsticks upon the two tips of the drum, a drummer will send out a reverberating message through the forest which is intelligible for many miles around. The message is not sent in any dot and dash code, such as is common in telegraphy, but the drum beats approximate the human speech, with the five varying tones of the Bulu tongue. Each individual has a call name, or ' ndan ', and messages can be sent to one far from home by this Bulu wireless."(16).

The gong talks their language. Rattray, in his analysis of the drum language of the Ashanti, confirms the above remarks. He writes :— " This idea (communication by drumming) the European will readily grasp, and being familiar with various means of *signalling*, will suppose that some such method might be adapted to drums ; but among the Ashantis the drum is not used as a means of *signalling* in the sense that we would infer, that is, by rapping out words by means of a pre-arranged code, but (to the native mind) is used to sound or speak the actual words. Thus we have drum-talking as distinct from drum-signalling, a tympanophonetic as opposed to a tympanosemantic means of communication."(30) He states that the stretched drum skin is, by skilful manipulation, made to vibrate in the manner of the diaphragm of a telephone.(17).

This aspect of the drum language had been brought to my notice when, as a student, I studied under Professor Frewen Jenkin at Oxford in 1912. In the course of a lecture on the telephone he pointed out, that as the vibrations of the diaphram or drum of the sounding-piece in the telephone reproduced the sounds of the human voice, so the idea was being accepted that the drum languages were not so much a morse code, as an actual reproduction of the human voice. The skill of the drummer in striking the gong caused its vibrations to reproduce human speech just as the vibrations of the telephone drum did.

The ability to transmit speech by tones carries with it the possibility of speaking by whistling. Whistling speech has been reported among the inhabitants of the Canary Islands.

Bannerman, in his work *The Canary Islands*, wrote :—" . . . The whistling language practised in Gomera is, I believe, quite the most remarkable, as it is also unique throughout the world. Unfortunately I was unable to visit that district in Gomera where the best whistlers are said to reside, the Montana de Chipude. The townsfolk apparently have no knowledge of this language, but in many of the country districts it is said to be sufficiently developed for messages to be sent and for limited conversation to be carried on. Whether or not our muleteers were exponents of this art I was unable to prove to my satisfaction, but certainly as we passed some way below a farm on the opposite hill-side, a curious whistle rang out from a small group of peasants gathered to watch us pass by. The whistle was immediately answered by one of our men, and I was at once struck by the peculiarity of the notes—low and liquid but very clear, reminding me more of cer-

tain notes used by the nightingale than of any human whistle I had heard before. The notes, four or five in number, were rather drawn out, the one running into the other without any perceptible stop between them, though the intensity of tone of each note was perfectly distinct from the next. It may be that the curiosity of the Natives at the unusual sight of an Englishwoman riding astride down their mountainpaths had been excited, and that they had whistled to our guides to know who we were, whence we came, and whither we were going? The answer they received appeared to satisfy the interrogators, for the whistle was not repeated. It would certainly be worth while for an ethnologist to visit Gomera for the express purpose of investigating this unique whistling language."(18)

Bannerman's remark that this whistling language was unique throughout the world was a piece of hasty generalization. "By listening to messages being sent by means of a large wooden gong, not drum, among the Igbo, it appeared that it was the relation of tone to tone that formed the basis of the message, and that tone is the secret of these languages, appeared conclusive when Natives could converse by whistling. Such an impromptu command as, "Bring me a fowl's feather to clean my pipe", was whistled and correctly acted upon by the recipient. The man who gave the command was a non-smoker and was unknown to the two Igbo boys."(19)

Among the Ibibio when talk is to be conducted over a distance, the production of the sound of words is subordinated to the production of the tones or tunes of words and a form of toned yodelling results. This form of speech has a special name, viz, *Ekiko;* thus, *tiŋ Ekiko*, means speak, "tone yodelling".

The connection between notes and language is succinctly described in the following extract: "The 'drum language' for which is used [among the Bulu] the special drum (*Nkul*), so constructed as to give forth different tones when beaten, is founded on the intonations of the voice used in speaking. Similar to the drum language is what might almost be called a 'whistling language'; for short conversations may be carried on by merely whistling, the variations of tone in whistling being made to suggest those of the corresponding spoken words. So, in speaking loudly to a person at a distance, it is not necessary for a Native even to try to articulate the consonants of the words distinctly; the mere vowel sounds of the words, aided by the tones, are enough to suggest the words themselves."(20)

In Asia the consequences of tone languages had been appreciated, especially when it was sought to combine European music with words of a local vernacular. Tylor in 1903 pointed out the absurd results that ensued. "Another consequence [of this elaborate system of tone accentuation] is, that the system of setting poetry to music became radically different from ours; to sing a Siamese song to a European tune makes the meaning of the syllables alter according to their rise and fall in pitch, and turns their sense into the wildest nonsense."(21)

So far as West Africa was concerned no attention was paid to Tylor's admonition and in 1935 it was necessary to write:—"The failure in the past, to recognise that this [Ibibio] language and its Efik dialect, are tone languages, has led to barbarous liberties being taken when hymns to fit European tunes were composed in the local vernacular. In English the sound of the word determines its sense, so it matters not, in singing, whether the tone of the word alters. In Ibibio the tone of the word fixes its meaning; consequently, when an Ibibio sings his own songs, he sings the words with the same relative tunes as he would, were he speaking; otherwise the sense would not be retained. Thus, if a high-tone is necessary for the sense of a word, its meaning is completely lost or altered if it is sung on a falling note. This difficulty does not appear to have been appreciated, with the result that, as most hymns have set tunes for all verses, the Native words cannot be made to fit the order of the notes without violating the tones of the words, and so destroying their sense. A study of Native singing will show that the tune varies from verse to verse to suit the tones of the words employed. An untrained Ibibio on hearing Ibibio words sung to an English hymn tune does not understand what is

being sung. In English, the words are chosen to fit the tune : in tone languages it is essential that the tune should fit the tones of the words."(22)

From these remarks it is clear that the drum language, apart from drum codes which are no more a language than morse is, are restricted to the tone languages. Furthermore, as the drum transmits the local speech, it follows that a drummer drumming a message in his own language " A " cannot be understood by hearers in a contiguous tribe whose language " B " is different ; unless of course the hearer in the " B " tribe has learnt the language of the " A " tribe. This fact gives the death blow to novels on Africa and to shallow travel books, where great play is made of the fact that a message has been drummed hundreds of miles in the course of a night.

The most conspicuous instance of this fallacy was the statement that the death of General Gordon at Khartoum had been drummed across Africa in a few days and was then known at Seirra Leone. That the disaster at Khartoum was known in Sierra Leone in a few days was true. That the news had been drummed across was not true.

The tone patterns of the various West African tone languages still await an investigation. It would seem that a study of the song tunes of the various languages might provide a method of approach in determining the main characteristics of each tone language whence it might be possible to deduce families of tone patterns.

Little is as yet known about tone shift and tone alteration in tone languages. In the Efik language, Dr. Ida Ward was able to show that often a long vowel could be traced to the elision of a syllable. But what happens to the tones and the tonal structure of a language when a tone drops out, as must occur with the loss of a syllable, is not known.

Can the study of West African tone languages give any idea as to their antiquity or indicate their ultimate future ? In the absence of all literature it is unlikely that any estimate of the age of the present tone languages can be made. Nevertheless Africa possesses the earliest known literature. Can a study of Egyptian hieroglyphs reveal any of its phonetic characteristics ? Sir Wallis Budge wrote in this connection as follows. " The exact pronunciation of a great many verbs must always remain unknown, because the Egyptians never invented a system of vocalisation, and never took the trouble to indicate the various vowel-sounds like the Syrians and Arabs : but by comparing forms which are common both to Egyptian and Coptic, a tolerably correct idea of the pronunciation may be obtained."(23)

Other scholars are not so optimistic in their hopes of recovering even the sounds, let alone the true pronunciation, of Egyptian words. " Coptic is the only stage [of the development of the Egyptian language] in which the spelling gives a clear idea of the pronunciation. It is therefore the mainstay of the scholar in investigating or restoring the word-forms of the ancient language. . . . It must not be supposed that the pronunciation of old Egyptian can be restored from Coptic . . . . Middle Egyptian and still more old Egyptian . . . . will perhaps always be to us little more than consonantal skeletons, the flesh and blood of their vocalisation being for the most part irretrievably lost."(24)

The value of Coptic, the last form of the Egyptian language, in elucidating pronunciation of Ancient Egyptian is slight, when it is realised that " Coptic has been entirely extinct as a spoken language for over 200 years, having been supplanted by Arabic ; in the thirteenth century it was already so much decayed that Arabic translations of the liturgies were necessary."(25)

So far, there is no indication that the spoken language of ancient Egypt was a tone language, However, there is a little evidence which suggests that it was. Sir Wallis Budge almost says that Ancient Egyptian was a tone language. Describing the hieroglyphics he wrote :—" Some ideographs have more than one phonetic value, in which case they are called polyphones ; and many ideographs representing entirely different objects have similar values, in which case they are called homophones."(26)

But the study of African tone languages shows that differences in meaning for homophones depends upon differences in tones, and one begins to suspect that ancient Egyptian was a tone langu-

age. An examination of a dictionary of Egyptian hieroglyphics shows the same characteristic features of a dictionary of any African tone language thus :—

" At	injury.	Mer	headman.
At	perch : plinth.	Mer	canal
At	vertebrae.	Mer	to be sick.
At	not.	Mer	proper name.
At	season.	Mer	to love.
Bet	incense.	Khat	Fire altar.
Bet	place.	Khat	Belly.
Bet	seed.	Khat	the 16th name of Lower Egypt
Bet	flower.	Khạt	A kind of ground." (27)

Further evidence pointing to the same conclusion comes from another source :—" As the husband of his mother, Osiris was in certain ceremonies called by the name of Kamuth or Kamut, and a song of Osiris used on these occasions was called by this name. The song seems to have been wordless—the priests merely intoning seven vowels ' to a peculiar melody '."(27)

That the song seemed to be wordless would be no cause for surprise or comment if ancient Egyptian were a tone language. Even though the song were wordless yet intoning seven vowels to a pecular melody could have conveyed to the listeners a full measure of speech.

If we make the assumption that ancient Egyptian was a tone language then the same word with a long list of different meanings and the priests singing in vowels, as in Yoruba, become both clear and understandable. In other words there is *prima facie* evidence that the ancient Egyptian language was a tone language. It and its cognate languages have completely disappeared. Does such a fate await all other African tone languages?

REFERENCES

(1) Jeffreys, M. D. W. Old Calabar and Notes on the Ibibio Language. Calabar. 1935.

(2) Jespersen, O. Language : Its Nature, Origin and Development. P. 419. London. 1928.

(3) Bowditch, T. E. Mission to Ashantee. Pp. 359, 361. London. 1819.

(4) Saker, E. M. Alfred Saker. P. 121. London 1929.

(5) Burton. R. F. A Mission to the King of Dahome. Vol. I. Pp. 31, 71. London. 1864.

(6) Crowther, S. Grammar and Vocabulary of the Nupe Language. Pp. iii-vi. London. 1864.

(7) Migeod, F. W. H. The Languages of West Africa. Vol. I. P. 56. London.

(8) Migeod, F. W. H. The Languages of West Africa. Vol. I. Pp. 218, 219. London.

(9) Bates, G. L. Handbook of Bulu. P. 7. London. 1904.

(10) Rhodes, J. Rev. Dahomian Grammar. Pp. 6. 34, 44. Colwyn Bay. 1904.

(11). Bansfield, A. W. Nupe Dictionary. Vol. I. P. xvi. Shenga. N. Nigeria. 1914.

(12) Johnson. O. The History of the Yorubas. P. 29. London. 1921.

(13) Maloney, Sir. A. Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society 1890. Vol. XII. P. 609.

(14) Temple, O. and C. L. Notes on the Tribes, People, Emirates and States of the Provinces of Northern Nigeria. P. 350. Lagos. 1922.

(15) Cantle, S. S. Assessment Report of the Wum Native Authority area. 31. 1. 1932. (Unpublished Govt. MS.)

(16) Wheeler, W. R. The Words of God in an African Forest. P. 197. New York. 1931.

(17) Rattray, R. S. Ashanti. P. 243. Oxford. 1923.

(18) Bannerman, D. The Canary Islands. P. 247. London. 1922.

(19) Jeffreys, M. D. W. Old Calabar and notes on the Ibibio. P. 89. Calabar. 1935.

(20) Bates, G. L. A handbook of Bulu. P. 5. Elat French Cameroons. 1926.

(21) Tylor, E. B. Primitive Culture. Vol. I. P. 169. London. 1903.

(22) Jeffreys. M. D. W. Old Calabar and notes on the Ibibio. P. 91. Calabar. 1935.

(23) Budge, Wallis. A. E. Easy lessons in Egyptian Hieroglyphics. P. 146. London. 1910.

(24) Budge, Wallis, A. E. Encyclopedia Britannica, 14th, Ed. Vol. 8. P. 109

(25) Budge, Wallis. A. E. Encyclopedia Britannica. 14th Ed. Vol. 6. P. 412.

(26) Budge, Wallis. A. E. Easy lessons in Egyptian Hieroglyphics. P. 32. London. 1910.

(27) Budge, Wallis. A. E. Hieroglyphic Vocabulary to the Book of the Dead. Pp. 138, 178, 293. London. 1911.

(28) Williamson, W. The Great Law. P. 28. London. 1899.

(29) Park, Mungo. Travels in the interior of Africa. p. 31 Everyman Edition. London. 1910.

(30) Rattray. R. S. The Drum Language of West Africa. Journal of the Anthropological Society. p. 227. Vol. XXII No. LXXVII April 1923.

A SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY OF WRITINGS ON CYRENAICA

E. E. EVANS-PRITCHARD

When I came to Cyrenaica in November 1942, as one of the officers in the third British Military Administration of the country, I knew very little about it and looked round to see what and where I could find out about the people of Cyrenaica and their history under the Turks and Italians. Two facts soon became obvious. Firstly, no attempt had been made to sift the obtainable literature and produce an up-to-date handbook on Cyrenaica. Secondly, the libraries of the Near East contained only a meagre assortment of books on the subject.

It was known that the Italians had published a great deal on Cyrenaica and it was assumed that when we reached Banghazi it would be possible to consult their public library there. Unfortunately it no longer existed. Its volumes, more than 30,000, had been sent, between the first and second British occupations, from Banghazi to Suluq (Soluk) to save them from bombing. During the second Italian withdrawal some of their soldiers fired the house in which they were stored. With the Italian library was burnt the greater and more valuable part of the Arabic library of the Sanusi family which the Italians had brought from Jaghbub and Kufra when they occupied these oases. Of the smaller libraries, public or private, in Banghazi or elsewhere, little remained; but finding here a book and there a book it has been possible to build up a small working library of essential literature. It is to the credit of the third British Military Administration that out of this it has produced just the kind of short, but authoritative, handbook which would have been of greater service had it been written before, or in the early stages of, the present war.

The bibliography I have compiled in this note lists the more important of these books and articles. It is a selection from a very considerable literature, for the Italians, since their invasion of Tripolitania and Cyrenaica in 1911, wrote an ever increasing number of books and articles on the two countries (jointly known as Libya). There was a stream of publications on the colonial war, colonial problems, policy, international questions, agriculture, botany, linguistics, geology, *etc.*, besides the innumerable laws, regulations, proclamations, directives, and so forth, which all governments find it necessary to issue. As a glance at the bibliography will show, the greater part of these were published locally, in Tripoli and Banghazi (Bengasi), and have consequently been little known outside Italian colonial circles.

I have made a selection from these writings on the ground of their relevance to the history of the Bedouin tribes of Cyrenaica during last century, their mode of life and tribal organization and the relation of these to the Sanusiya order, to Ottoman administration, and to Italian conquest and rule. I have read most of these books, but some are included because, although I have not been able to obtain them, they are known to contain important information. I have not included books by early travellers, such as Hornemann, Della Cella Paolo, Pacho, Barth, Rohlfs, and others. These will be found in Valckenaer (115) up to about 1820 and from that year onwards till 1924 in Mori (84). Except in a few instances I have not included Arabic sources. The more useful of these are given by Adams (1) in his paper in the *Handbook on Cyrenaica*. Should anyone wish to read more widely than this short bibliography allows he will find the guidance he needs in the bibliographies by Minutilli (79) up to 1902 and by Hildebrandt (59) up to 1904 and from those years to 1915 in the bibliography by Ceccherini (24). For the literature after 1911 the *Arch. Bib. Col.* (11) may be consulted. The colonial period is covered up to 1936 by Varley (116). There have also been compiled shorter bibliographies on special subjects and several of the books I have listed give useful bibliographical information, e.g. nos. 48, 65, and 87.

Most of the entries in the bibliography are Italian writings. This is to be expected since Cyrenaica was an Italian colony and since foreigners were not encouraged to travel in it. Some of the entries refer to Tripolitania and the Fazzan and not to Cyrenaica, e.g. nos. 2, 16, 32, 49, 55, 69 and 102, for it is impossible to follow much of recent Cyrenaican history without knowing the general trend of events to the west. Some books dealing with Islamic orders and practises in gener al, and only incidentally with the Sanusiya order, have been listed because the character of the order and the part it has played in Cyrenaica cannot be understood without some knowledge of the purposes of Islamic orders and of their place in the history of Islam; e.g. 15, 31, 35, 54, 63, 71, 100 and 110.

If Italian writings on Libya were voluminous they were of uneven quality. There was much repetition and, after the Fascists got control in 1922, propaganda. It is clear that all writers under the Fascist regime, whatever their subject, were expected to write eulogistically about the administration, optimistically about colonization, critically of the French and British, and, if at all, in a derogative or patronizing vein about the Arabs and the Sanusiya order. There is little of real scholarship in their writings. This is due to a number of causes: Fascist intolerance, weakness of metropolitan schools of Semitic studies, absence of colonial institutes such as the French started in Algeria, Morocco, and Tunisia, and the feeling that scientific research should be utilitarian. Praise therefore is due to those who overcame such serious obstacles, particularly to Agostini (2-5) for his exhaustive ethnographic researches and to Giglio (48) and Savarese (104) for their painstaking studies of the Sanusiya order and Land Tenure. It must be said, however, that during the thirty years of Italian occupation no real sociological research was carried out in Cyrenaica, which, from this point of view, is a virgin field.

Finally, it remains to be said that a large number of books and articles have been listed because they reveal the mentality and methods of imperialism and the theory and practice of colonization and not because they give information of value about fact. To some extent most of the books in the bibliography may be regarded less as sociological analysis than as primary *data* for the study of Bedouin relations with Turks, Sanusi, and Italians (Fascist and otherwise), even when they are serious descriptive accounts as well. But, clearly, this applies less to scientific and historical treatises than to books on policies and politics, especially those intended to influence public opinion or to flatter superiors.

(1) Adams, Dr. C. C. "The Sanusiya Order" in *Handbook on Cyrenaica*, Cairo, 1944.

(2) Agostini, Enrico De. *Le Popolazioni della Tripolitania*, Tripoli, 1917.

(3) Agostini, Enrico De. *Le Popolazioni della Cirenaica*, Bengasi, 1922-23.

(4) Agostini, Enrico De. "Ethnografia della Popolazioni Libiche" in *Atti Primo Congresso di Studi Coloniali*, Firenze, 1931.

(5) Agostini, Enrico De. *Elenco di Termini Topografici e di Voci che entrano comunemente in Uso nella Toponomastica della Cirenaica*, Bengasi, 1929.

(6) Ahlmann, Hans Wilson. *La Libia Settentrionale*, Bengasi, 1930 (First published in Swedish in *Geografiska Annaler* in 1928).

(7) Al-Gayyid Muhammad ibn 'Ali al-Sanusi. *Al-durar al saniyya fi akhbar al-silala al-Idrisiya*, Cairo, 1930.

(8) Ambrosini, Gaspare. "Il Valore Politico della Libia nell' Impero Italiano" *Scuola e Cultura*, 1937.

(9) *Annuario Generale della Libia*, Tripoli, 1931-1941.

(10) André, P. J. *L'Islam et les Races*, Paris, 1922.

(11) *Archivio Bibliografico Coloniale*, Firenze, 1915-1921.

(12) Badoglio, Pietro, Del Sabotino. *Direttive per l'Anno* 1933, Tripoli, 1933.

(13) Balbo, Italo. *La Politica Sociale Fascista verso gli Arabi della Libia*, Roma, 1938.

(14) Barclay, T. *The Turco-Italian War and its Problems, with Appendices, containing the*

chief State Papers bearing on the Subject, London, 1912.

(15) Bel, A. "L'Islam mystique," *Revue Africain*, Alger, 1928.

(16) Belardinelli, T. Col. Arsenio. *La Ghibla*, Tripoli, 1935.

(17) Bourbon, del Monte S. Maria. *L' Islamismo e la Confraternita dei Senussi*, Città di Castello, 1912.

(18) *Bollettino Geografico*, 1925—, Bengasi.

(19) *Bollettino Ufficiale del Governo della Cirenaica*, Bengasi, 1914—

(20) Braida, Vittorino. *Memoria per L'Ufficiale dei Reparti Indigeni della Cirenaica*, Bengasi, 1935.

(21) Bongiovanni, Luigi. *Discorso pronunziato da S.E. il Generale di Corpo d'Armata alla Apertura della Sessione Primaverile del Parlamento della Cirenaica*, Bengasi, 1923.

(22) Brunel, René. *Essai sur la Confrérie religieuse des 'Aissaona au Maroc.*

(23) Canevari. *Zavie ed Ichuan Senussiti della Tripolitania*, Tripoli, 1917.

(24) Ceccherini, Ugo. *Bibliografia della Libia*, Roma, 1915.

(25) Chemali, Ismail. *Gli Abikanti della Tripolitania*, Tripoli, 1916.

(26) *Cirenaica*, Rivista Mensile, Bengasi, 1925—

(27) *Cirenaica Economica*, Bolletino. uff. mens. della Camera di Comm., Indust., ed Agric. della Ciren. Bengasi, 1928.

(28) Checchi, Michele. *Giarabub*, Bengasi, 1925.

(29) Coro, Francesco. *Settantasei Anni di Dominazione Turca in Libia*, Tripoli, 1937.

(30) *Decrete Luogotenenziale, 17th Ottobre 1915, che approva il Regolamento Scolastico per la Tripolitania e per la Cirenaica*, Roma, 1915.

(31) Depont, Octave, and Coppolani, Xavier. *Les Confréries Religieuses*, Alger, 1897.

(32) De Renzi, Edmondo. *Nozioni sull' Islam con speciale riguardo alla Tripolitania*, Tripoli, 1918.

(33) Despois, J. *La colonisation Italienne en Libya : Problémes et Méthodes*, Paris. 1935.

(34) Daodiace, Giuseppe. "Latinità e. Colonizzazione nell' Africa del Nord", *Rivista delle Colonie e d'Oriente*, Feb., 1927.

(35) Doutté, E. *Les Marabouts*, Paris, 1900.

(36) Douveyrier. *La Confrérie Musulmane de Sidi Mohamed ben Ali es Senoûsi et son Domaine géographique en l'Anneé 1300 de l'Hegire*, Reprint, Roma, 1918. (First printed : *Societé de Géografie*, Paris, 1884.)

(37) *Diplomatic and Consular Reports. Annual Series.* Foreign Office, London, 1886—

(38) *Encyclopaedia Italiana*, Milano-Roma, 1929—

(39) *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Leyden, 1936—

(40) *Estratti della Stampa. Europea E' D'Oriente.* (Governo della Cirenaica).

(41) Evans-Pritchard, Major E. E. *The Place of the Sanusiya in the History of Islam*, B.M.A. Press, Sidi Rafa', 1943.

(42) Evans-Pritchard, Major E. E. "Tribes (Habitat and way of Life)" and "Tribes and their Divisions" in *Handbook on Cyrenaica*, Cairo, 1944.

(43) Evans-Pritchard, Major E. E. *The Non-Sanusiya Orders in Cyrenaica*, B.M.A. Press, Banghazi, 1944.

(44) Fatuzzo, Giacomo, and Ghelardoni. *Notiziario Geografico del Sud-Tripolitano*, 4 Fasc., Tripoli, 1930. Also by Fatuzzo : *Terminologia Topografica della Libia e delle Regioni adiacenti*, Tripoli, 1930.

(45) "Firmano di S. M. il Sultano Maometto V in data 17 Ottobre 1912 con cui si concede l'Autonomia alla Tripolitania e alla Cirenaica", *Gazzetta Ufficiale del Regno d'Italia*, 19 Ottobre 1912.

(46) Franchi, Dott, Alberto. *La Cirenaica dal Punto di Vista Zooeconomico e Zootecnico*, Bengasi, 1926.

(47) Franzoni, A. *Colonizzazione e Proprietà Fondiaria in Libia, con speciale Riguardo alla Religione, al Diritto ed alle Consuetudini locali*, Roma, 1912.

(48) Giglio, Carlo. *La Confraternita Senussita dalle sue Origini ad Oggi*, Padova, 1932.

(49) Graziani, Generale Rodolfo. *Verso il Fezzan*, Tripoli, 1930.

(50) Graziani, Generale Rodolfo. *Cirenaica Pacificata*, Milano, 1932.

(51) Graziani, Generale Rodolfo. *La Situazione Cirenaica*, Bengasi, 1931.

(52) Gregory, J. W. (and others). *Report on the Work of the Commission sent out by the Jewish Territorial Organization under the Auspices of the Governor-General of Tripoli to examine the Territory proposed for the Purpose of a Jewish Settlement in Cyrenaica*, London, 1909.

(53) (Gregory, J. W. "The Geology of Cyrenaica", *Quart. Jour. of Geol. Soc.*, London, 1911.

(54) Goldziher, I. *Muhammedanische Studien*, Halle, 1890.

(55) Gigliarelli, Ugo. *Il Fezzan*, Tripoli, 1932.

(56) Hassanein, A. M., Bey. *The Lost Oases*, London, 1925.

(57) Hachaichi, Muhammad, 'Uthman. *Voyage au Pays des Senoussia à travers la Tripolitaine et les Pays Touareg*, trad. par V. Sevres et Larsan, Paris, 1912; (Ist. Ed. 1903.)

(58) Hastings, J. J. (ed.) *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, 1920—

(59) Hildebrandt, G. *Cyrenaika als Gebiet kunftiger Besiedelung*, Bonn, 1904.

(60) "Il Disarmo delle Tribù della Cirenaica", *Ufficio Politico Militare*, Bengasi, 1912.

(61) Jurji, Edward, Jabra. *Illumination in Islamic Mysticism*, Princeton, 1938.

(62) *La Cirenaica—Geografica—Economica—Politica* (Many contributors), Milano, 1922—1923.

(63) Lammens, Le R. P. *L' Islam*, 2nd Ed., 1941.

(64) "La Libia in venti Anni di Occupazione Italiana" (several contributors). Special Number of *Rassegna Italiana*, Sept.-Oct., 1932.

(65) *La Nuova Italia d' Oltremare* (Ed. by Angelo Piccioli), Roma, 1933, (2 vols.)

(66) "L' Italia e il Levante" (several contributors), Special Number of *Rassegna Italiana*, Aug.—Sept., 1934.

(67) Lessona, Alessandro. "Il Popolamento della Libia", *Rassegna Italiana*, April, 1932.

(68) Lo Bello, Capitano Filippo. *Le Vicende Politico-Militari dei Primi Dodici Anni di Occupazione Italiana in Cirenaica*, Bengasi, N.D. (first published in *Rivista Coloniale*, 1925-1926.

(69) *L'Occupazione del Fezzan*, Tripoli, 1930. (Official Account).

(70) *L'Occupazione di Cufra*, Tripoli, 1931. (Official Account).

(71) Le Chatelier. *Les Confréries musulmanes du Hedjaz*, Paris, 1887.

(72) Macaluso, Giuseppe. *Turchi, Senussi e Italiani in Libia*, Bengasi, 1930.

(73) *Fascismo e Colonie*, Bengasi, 1930.

(74) Malvezzi, A. *L' Italia e l' Islam in Libia*, Treves, Milano, 1913.

75) Manetti, Dott. O. *I Boschi della Cirenaica*, Bengasi.

(76) Manzoni, Dott. Giovanni. Art. on the forests of Cyrenaica in *Cam di Comm.*, 1929.

(77) Mei, A. *Gli Abitatori della Cirenaica: Studio storico-antropologico*, Roma, 1914.

(78) Micacchi, Rodolfo. *La Tripolitania e i Caramanli*, Roma, 1936.

79) Minutilli, F. *Bibliografia della Libia*, Torino, 1903.

(80) Mondaini, G. Art. in *Man. di st. e legisl. Colon. del Regno d' Italia*, Roma, 1927.

(81) Montet, E. "Les Missions musulmanes au dix-neuvième siècle", *Revue de l' Histoire des Religions*, Paris, 1885.

(82) "Les Senoussites. Leur Action politique et religieuse." *Bibliot. Univer.* Lausanne, 1911.

(83) Moreno, M. M. *Brevi Nozioni D' Islam*, Tripoli, 1927.

(84) Mori, Attilio. *L'Esplorazione geografica della Libia*, Firenze, 1927.

(85) Muhammad al-Akhdar al-'Isawi. *Raf' al-Sitar 'amma ja'a fi kitab 'Umar al-Mukhtar*, Cairo, 1936.

(86) Murray, G. W. *Sons of Ishmael*, London, 1935.

(87) Narducci, Guglielmo. *La Colonizzazione della Cirenaica*, Bengasi, 1934.

(88) *Notizie relative al Sangiacato della Cirenaica e alle Mudirie dipendenti dal Mutassarifato di Bengasi* (Governo della Cirenaica), Bengasi, 1914.

(89) *Notiziario Politico* (A series of political reports on Cyrenaica running from the time of the Italian occupation), Bengasi.

(90) *Ordinamento Fondiario nella Tripolitania e nella Cirenaica*, Tripoli, 1914.

(91) *Ordinamento Scolastico per Cittadini Musulmani*, Bengasi, 1925.

(92) Pfalz, R. *Bei Faschisten und Senussi Mussolinis Kolonial politik in der Cyrenaika*, Leipzig, 1933.

(93) *Proclama agli Arabi della Cirenaica da lanciarsi dagli Aereoplani, in Data 21 Febbraio 1912.* Printed in *Riv. Colon.* Roma, 1912, n. 6.

(94) *Proclama alle Popolazioni* (Governo della Cirenaica), Bengasi, I Maggio, 1923.

(95) Ralz, O. *Le Operazioni libiche sul 29° parallelo Nord*, Roma, 1928.

(96) Rapex, Raffaele. *L'Affermazione della Sovanita' Italiana in Tripolitania (1921-1925)*, Tientsin, 1937.

(97) *Rassegna Economica dell' Africa Italiana*, 1922—.

(98) *Regolamento Ottomano per l' Amministrazione Generale delle Provincie (Vilaiet)*, Tripoli, 1917.

(99) Rémond, G. Quatre Mois chez le Grand Senoussi (Le Dernier Secret Africain), *Illustration*, Paris, 1914.

(100) Rinn, Louis. *Marabouts et Khouan*, Paris, 1884.

(101) *Rivista delle Colonie Italiane*, 1924—

(102) Salin bin 'Amir. A series of articles on the Grand Sanusi in Cyrenaica in *Majallat 'Umar al-Mukhtar*, Banghazi, 1943-1944. (In Arabic).

(103) Sanusi al-Ghazzali. *Al-Hadith fi Tarikh Barqa al-Qadim wa al-Hadith*, Cairo, 1939.

(104) Savarese, Enzo. *Le Terre della Cirenaica*, Part I, 1926; Part II, 1928.

(105) Schonfield, Hugh. J. "Libya" in *Islam To-Day*, London, 1943.

(106) Sell, Canon. *Studies in Islam*, 1928.

(107) Serra, Fabrizio. *Italia e Senussia*, Milano-Roma, 1933.

(108) Sillani, Tomaso. *La Libia in Venti Anni di Occupazione Italiana. Studi e Documenti Raccolti e Ordinati da Tomaso Sillani*, 2nd Ed. Roma, 1933.

(109) Slousch, N. "Benghazi", *Rev. du Monde Musul.*, Paris, 1908. (Author's name not given in the article).

(110) Snouck Hurgronje, C. "Les confréries religieuses, la Mecque et la Panislamisme" *Revue de l' Historic des Religions*, Paris, 1901.

(111). Spada, Franco. *La Colonizzazione della Libia*, Bologna, 1914.

(112) Stroppa, Francesco. *Nomadismo e Nomadi della Tripolitania (propriamente detta)*, Roma, 1915.

(113) Teruzzi, A. *Cirenaica verde*, Milano, 1931.

(114) *Trattati, Convenzioni, Accordi, Protocoli ed altri Documenti relativi all' Africa*, Roma, 1917. (Two vols.).

(115) Valckenaer, C. A. *Recherches Geographiques sur l' Intérieur de l' Afrique septentrionale etc.*, Paris, 1821.

(116) Varley, Douglas H. *A Bibliography of Italian Colonisation in Africa with a section on Abyssinia*, London, 1936.

(117) Weir, Major D. H. "Italian Colonisation" in *Handbook on Cyrenaica*, 1944.

(118) Willis, C. A. *The Religious Confraternities* (Intelligence Department, Khartoum). 1922.

(119) *Zauie Senussite della Cirenaica.* Scala I: 1.000.000. I foglio a colori e I lucido: Probabile spettanza delle Zauie ai Membri della Famiglia del Gran Senusso, Roma, 1914.

(120) Zoli. "La Sovranità Italiana su tutta la Cirenaica", *Politica*, Apriàle, 1923.

BOOKS IN REVIEW

A Demographic Study of an Egyptian Province. By A. M. Ammar. 1943. London : *Lund Humphries.* 98 pp. 7s. 6d.

Sharqiya is a province of some million and a quarter acres between the Nile Delta and the Suez Canal. Its population of over a million is one person in fourteen of the population of Egypt. Its cultivated area is likewise about that proportion of the settled area of Egypt, but since half the province is waste land, its mean density of one person per acre is half that usually computed for the whole country. Sixty thousand of its people live within the boundaries of the chief town, Zagazig Bandar, on the site of the ancient Bubastis. Here the mean density reaches 30 per acre. For the most part, however, the population is agricultural, distributed among six rural *markaz* with mean densities ranging from 0.3. per acre (Faqus) to approximately 2.0 (Hihya).

If the dominant demographic characteristic of this population is high density, its dominant socio-economic characteristic is primary poverty. The documentation of this characteristic is incomplete, but a study of some 200 households conducted in 1939 by Dr. Ammar (Ammar, 1940) provided some highly significant evidence. In Dr. Ammar's sample of 96 land-owning, 42 tenant, 48 tenant land-owning, and 36 labouring households, average incomes of more than £E 25 per person per annum were enjoyed by 10 per cent of the households only. Half the households had incomes of £E 7 per head per annum or less. Among the tenant and labouring households, only 28 per cent had an income of £E 5 or more per head per annum. Ten per cent of the households had no recorded household capital. Of the agricultural labourers, 60 per cent had no recorded capital. Half the total households had a household capital of less than £E 40. With an Egyptian pound approximately equal to the pound sterling, these figures are surprising, although further information respecting price levels and purchasing habits would be necessary to permit us to translate into concrete terms such statements as Dr. Ammar's finding that 20 per cent. of the households in his particular sample spent less than £E 2 per person per annum on food. Nevertheless, the figures will scarcely bear any other interpretation than that the population sampled, especially in the labouring households, is living in conditions of extreme poverty and malnutrition.

In this study Dr. Ammar approaches these phenomena as a demographer. It seems reasonable to accept Sumner's man-land criterion as a starting point for scientific analysis of such conditions, and to assume that any constructive policy concerning them must have its foundation in the field of demographic study. But it is regrettable that the statistical straw with which Dr. Ammar has to build should be, even by traditional standards, so meagre. In the first place, Dr. Ammar has to rely upon censal and registration data which, as he is careful to show, are very unreliable. He points out that "in a country like Egypt, with a high percentage of illiteracy, with long periods of oppression, forced labour and ruthless conscription, and with some peculiar social customs, people still look on the census operations with great apathy and much suspicion. They naturally lose sight of the solidarity of public and private interests and see only one side of the usefulness of the census, i.e. its service to the government. Such an attitude must have affected the returns of all censuses."

But in addition to the difficulties arising from the attitudes of the enumerated population, technical faults have been apparent in most if not all of the Egyptian censuses. There has been serious discontinuity in the form and content of the schedules, certain of the censuses have been taken in time of war or tumult, the movements of Ramadan and feast days have occasioned frequent changes in the dates of enumeration, and except for recent years it is doubtful if the census field work has always been carried out with sufficient care. (Some of these faults are, of course, not peculiar to censuses in Egypt.) Again, while marriage records may be accepted as reliable,

some thousands of deaths are said to escape registration every year, and the proportion of unregistered births has been reliably estimated at as high as ten per cent.

Moreover, at the time of writing Dr. Ammar was unable to avail himself of the 1937 census. His attempt to provide a first contribution to a demographic survey of Egypt is therefore almost entirely restricted to detailed consideration of such crude indices—crude birth, death, increase, and marriage rates, tertiary sex ratios, broad age groupings—as are the common property of general population studies.

The outlines of the Egyptian population situation, as depicted by these rough indices, is already well known—a very high birth rate (40 in Sharqiya), a high death rate (25 in Sharqiya), a moderately rapid rate of natural increase (1-2 per cent in Sharqiya), a low incidence of polygyny, a high rural density. Nevertheless, by attempting to relate these indices to certain socio-environmental factors, Dr. Ammar has taken the first step in the first stage in the study of poverty in modern Egypt. The first stage will be completed when improvements in methods of recording censal and registration data, and perhaps some new ingenuities of analysis, permit the student of Egyptian demography to report upon personal and household replacement ratios, and to measure their demographic determinants. It will then be possible to move with some confidence into the wider field of study indicated by Dr. Ammar in his closing paragraph :—

"Many of the people may have been responsible for their own misfortunes, but in most cases the majority are the victims of factors beyond their control. The unjust traditional distribution of wealth, the disequilibrium between human fertility and land potentialities, the apathetic outlook of the fatalist fallah, the misunderstanding of the real needs of the rural community and the vague ideas of social reconstruction in the minds of high officials and authoritative circles, are the major factors underlying the deplorable condition of our fallaheen."

It is, however, depressing that from both ends of the Continent the present tale should be so much the same. Or is this the ground for hope ?

EDWARD BATSON.

Progress and Archaeology. By V. GORDON CHILDE. 1944. London : *Watts*. 119 pp. 2s. 6d.

As a result of the great acceleration of material advance following the Industrial Revolution, *Progress* was thought of as something automatic, something inherent in the nature of things. The disasters and cataclysms that have followed those days have produced a profound distrust of the idea of automatic progress, and have persuaded some that we are actually in an age of regression ; while an even greater depth of considered pessimism was reached in H. G. Wells's *The Fate of Homo Sapiens*. It is therefore to be welcomed that a distinguished archaeologist should review the findings of archaeology on a broad basis to see what can be justifiably and scientifically stated on the subject of Man's progress since his first emergence on this planet over half a million years ago.

To do this there can be very few people so well qualified as Gordon Childe, for few can equal his grasp of the varied findings of archaeological research from Ireland to China. This width of expert knowledge is necessary to make that synthesis of the whole human story without which conclusions about Man's progress might be false. This is a field in which archaeology makes a big contribution to the proper understanding of Man. However, with the philosophical "Why does Man progress ?" (which is really only an extension of the question posed by biology "Why does evolution take place ?") the author does not concern himself ; although the method, by which progress has been made, is considered in some detail. The archaeologist's job is to provide the facts and their scientific interpretation as material with which others can philosophise. Thus the appropriateness of this book in the "Thinker's Library."

Most of the material Childe has already published in his more detailed books *Man Makes Himself* and *What Happened in History*. The first chapter traces the outline of progress in archaeological research ; succeeding chapters

follow through the developments from Lower Palaeolithic times in such things as food-getting, housing, implements, trade and communications, and religious ideas suggested by the evidence from ancient funerals and temples; the difficult field of physical progress and the human "family tree" is hardly discussed; the last chapter examines the results of progress as revealed in the preceding chapters. The conclusions reached are:— (1) Progress is cumulative (although the rather obvious significance for this of the prehistoric invention of writing, like the historical invention of printing, is nowhere emphasized). (2) Progress is not continuous; there are periods of regression, (but the effect of regression is *not* cumulative; as an archaeologist's definition of evil Childe suggests "That which is not cumulative"). (3) Length of life has been increased. (4) Population has increased (5) Man is less dependent on his natural environment (6) Man is much more dependent on his social environment. (7) Life has become richer and more diversified.

In spite of the value of the book as a whole, and the wealth of information condensed into it, there is an appearance of its having been hurriedly written and produced. This can be illustrated from the following specimens of careless or ambiguous writing. Thus, confusion between archaeology and geology might arise in the mind of an uninstructed reader when he finds on the first page the definition that "The objects of archaeology are any alterations in the earth's crust and in natural objects upon it so far as they have survived at all."

P. 12. "collecting, catching and hunting wild fruits, roots, grubs, game or fish."

P. 38. A single sentence in the perfect tense where all others are in the past.

P. 39 "as Swedish peasants still did last century."

Pp. 45 and 95. "them" for "themselves" is American, not English; "they could dig them shelters," and "Nobles and high officials began to build them mastaba tombs."

P. 106. It is not at all clear that the first new paragraph on this page does not really concern "Sacrifice and Temple-Building," in the chapter on which it occurs, but is a sort of appendix list of things wherein progress might or might not be traced; and yet page 107 comes back to the religious question.

The following misprints occur:—

P. 9. "Moustierian" for "Mousterian."

In column 4 of the table, it is made to appear that the Mesolithic period lasted from 20,000 B.C. down to the present day.

P. 15 "gorges" for "gouges" (twice).

P. 37, line 4. the word "to" omitted between "spread" and "the."

P. 39. "rymer" for "reamer."

P. 63 "sank" for "chank" (twice).

Index. "Piltdown" and "Swanscombe" men do not occur, although mentioned in the text, while Pekin, Java, Neandertal and Cro-Magron occur in both.

The reference to p. 10 under "writing" should be to p. 11.

One or two other points:—

The old term "Chellean" is used instead of the now more widely used "Abbevillian."[1] One wonders whether the finest Acheulean hard-axes, which, in their own way, are works of art produced by expert craftsmen, can justifiably be called "imperfect tools made by clumsy methods" (p. 13). One can hardly agree either with the definition of a culture as "precisely the sum total of the weapons, tools, houses, vehicles and other things of the sort just examined that were used by a single people" (p. 56); for this is really a definition of a particular "material culture," the imperishable part of which is admittedly all that the archaeologist has from which to reconstruct as far as possible a picture of the culture as a whole—which includes religion and social organization.

On p. 20 it is stated "The early emphasis on orchard husbandry, combined with the limitations on the water supply to produce the sharp contrast between neolithic societies in the Near East and their homologues in Europe or modern

[1] "Le terme de *chelléen* a dû, pour les préhistoriens avertis, être abandonné, car prêtant à mille confusions d'âges et de formes." L'Abbé Henri Breuil, "Le Paléolithique au Congo Belge d'aprés les recherches du Docteur Cabu," *Transactions of the Royal Society of South Africa*, Vol. XXX, Part II, 1944.

Africa." What are these neolithic homologues in modern Africa? The only culture which can be said to have been in the Stone Age when discovered by European explorers was that of the Bushmen —who were not "neolithic" in their economy, being principally food collectors. The rest of Africa was already in the Iron Age, and in many cases had been for centuries. If comparison is being made with the agricultural economy of these modern African societies, it is confusing to call them homologues with "neolithic" societies.

On p. 24. "A visit to the 'Dust Bowl' suffices to inspire doubts as to how far large-scale mechanised farming will continue to be productive." Do the peculiar conditions of the Dust Bowl invalidate the progress or productivity of large-scale mechanised agriculture in other areas?

On p. 42. "About 100 B.C. a new mill in which water replaced the donkey as motive power was invented. The evidence is at first exclusively literary, but it is clear that the machine involved gears." That gears were involved in the earliest described water-wheel is true, but it is almost certain that the oldest type of water-wheel did not involve gears, the water playing on to blades attached to the lower end of a vertical shaft on to the top of which was attached the rotary millstone.[1]

On pp. 67, 68. "The sole means of transport, women's backs (judging by contemporary savages)." More carrying is done on women's heads than on their backs, even of the heaviest loads; as a generalization, women's backs are usually only used in hilly districts.

The ancient Greeks placed their Golden Age in the past, as many peoples have done. The Victorians placed it in the present and future. Where do we place it now? Many feel it is a potentiality of tomorrow, but are overcome with despair that it will just not happen. This book should convince that there is such a thing as progress, but that to maintain it and avoid another Dark Age, Man will have to grow to a wisdom and a vigilance hitherto unattained.

C.T.S.

[1] The Problem of water-mills, "E. Cecil Curwen, *Antiquity*, No 71, September 1944.

Marena a Batho. By PATRICK TRUE. 1944. London: *Nelson.* 125 pp. 2s.

This is a welcome publication in Southern Sotho dealing with short life-histories of a number of chiefs, belonging to the Nguni and Sotho sections of the Bantu. The well-known figures of Chaka, Moshoeshoe, Khama, Sandile, and a number of others appear. There is little new material brought in, but it is dealt with in a pleasing way in good Sesotho. The influence of witchcraft upon the actions of some of the chiefs is well portrayed, explaining many happenings which might otherwise appear incomprehensible. There is a graphic description of the Great Trek. The characters of the various Chiefs are vividly differentiated, and their guiding motives represented. It would have been well had more dates been included so as to compare the times in which each lived and flourished. The book is suitable for teachers in training, and should act as a basis for the teaching of history in Native schools.

C.M.D.

Welfare in the British Colonies. By L. P. MAIR. 1944. London: *Royal Institute of International Affairs.* 115 pp. 5s.

The Future of the Colonies. By JULIAN HUXLEY and PHYLLIS DEANE. 1944. London: *Pilot Press.* 64 pp. with illustrations. 4s. 6d.

In Dr. Mair's book Chatham House has sponsered a useful factual outline of the work of the various colonial services concerned with social welfare, and of how the aims of modern social policy are being put into practice. Examples are given to illustrate the main lines of development in the principal colonial areas, Africa, Malaya, Hong Kong, Ceylon, the West Indies, and the Pacific Islands. If it is the facts you want, here they are, objectively reported and interpreted. All the material Dr. Mair uses is available in official publications. But such publications can appear most sinister documents by a disingenuous selection of extracts; the gobbet quoted outside its context is a well-worked propaganda trick not unknown to critics of colonial administration. Dr. Mair selects from the information at her disposal with judgment and reduces it with a skill springing

from a wide study of colonial affairs. Her miniature is without doubt a good likeness. If Africa is in the forefront it is because Africa has in fact served as the laboratory in which many of the most significant experiments in social welfare in the colonial empire have been made ; although it is clear that when the curtain fell, Malaya led the way in the development of some welfare agencies. There are useful bibliographies appended to each section of the booklet.

In *The Future of the Colonies* the emphasis moves from the present to the future. The architects of a new and better world are under fire from both sides ; from those who believe in the freedom to return to unrestricted big business with no interference ; and from those who see in the present abundance of plans and blue-prints further bureaucratic encroachments on the freedom of the common man. Planners are, however, as a rule single-minded people who are not deterred by the voices in the market place, and when they speak with the authority of the authors of *The Future of the Colonies* they are bound to be listened to with respect.

The book opens with a tracing of the history of colonies from the stage of conquest through exploitation to trusteeship and then partnership. It dwells on the new attitude reflected in colonial policy, especially in that of Britain, illustrates how that policy is being interpreted into action and shows it to be part of the new attitude towards human problems in general, international as well as domestic. It then indicates the objectives to be reached and how they can be gained. The result is a useful prècis of present trends and of the plans put forward by students of colonial affairs for future development. It is of course imposible within 60 pages to provide a public ignorant of colonial affairs with an outline of the history current problems, and future needs of the colonies. The book is clearly meant for those with a background knowledge of such matters and with Fabian sympathies. Certainly the section dealing with future objectives gives what must be an exhaustive list of the aims of right—(or should it be left—?) thinking men for the advancement of colonial peoples.

One point, however, will be noted with regret if not with surprise by some readers. There seems to be little room for religious bodies in this recreated colonial world. This is a pity because if the major objectives are to be reached, the influence in the field of social progress of such valuable and powerful allies as the churches must be counted on and welcomed.

The book has a most attractive appearance, a striking dust-cover, 24 fine photographs and 6 pages of Horrabin diagrams that please the eye and can be more informative than pages of print. *The Future of the Colonies* is important for all concerned with colonial planning in the perspection it provides and as an authoritative indication of the direction in which a large and growing body of public opinion in Great Britain and the U.S.A. is moving. Certainly, for those who like their Utopias cut and dried with nothing left to chance or Providence, " Target for Tomorrow No. 8 " scores a bull.

C.J.O.

RECENT PUBLICATIONS

Fisher, W. S. and M. K. Lunda Handbook. 1944. Mutshatsha Mission, Congo Belge. x, 176 pp.

Hofmeyr, J. H. Christian Principles and Race Problems. 1945. Johannesburg: S.A. Institute of Race Relations. 2s. 6d.

Mohapeloa, J. M. Africans and their Chiefs. 1945. Cape Town: The African Bookman, P.O. Box 3115. 26 pp. 1s.

Nhlapo, J. M. Nguni and Sotho. 1945. Cape Town: The African Bookman. 22 pp. 1s.

Power, T. F. Jules Ferry and the renaissance of French imperialism. 1944. New York: Columbia University Press. 222 pp.

Report of Native Production and Trade Commission. 1945. Salisbury: Government Printer. 107 pp. 4s. 3d.

Rollnick, J. Special Typographical Symbols in Bantu Languages. *S.A. Libraries*, Vol. 12, No. 4. April 1945.

Russell, F. T. Report on Social Security in Southern Rhodesia. 1944. Part 1: Social Security. Part 11: Social Services. (roneoed). Salisbury: Government Printer. 250 pp.

Shepherd, R. H. W. Lovedale and Literature for the Bantu. 1945. Alice: The Lovedale Press. 111 pp.

Townsend, M. E. European colonial expansion since 1871. New York: Lippincott. 1941. 629 pp. $4.

Williams, Eric. The Negro in the Caribbean. 1945. Manchester: Panaf Service, 58 Oxford Rd. 72 pp. 5s.

Ziervogel, D. Swazi-gebruike vanaf Geboorte tot Huwelik. 1944. Pretoria: Universiteit. 62 bl. 5s.

CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS NUMBER

PROFESSOR I. SCHAPERA is in the chair of Social Anthropology in the University of Cape Town.

H. DU PLESSIS is a missionary working in the Transvaal.

LORD HARLECH was High Commissioner for the United Kingdom in South Africa. He is a former Secretary of State for the Colonies.

E. E. EVANS-PRITCHARD is an anthropologist who has lectured at Oxford and Cambridge. He is the author of *The Nuer* and many other publications.